

EAST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, 450-1450

Medieval Trade in Central Europe, Scandinavia, and the Balkans (10th-12th Centuries)

A Comparative Study



Piotr Pranke and Miloš Zečević



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By

Piotr Pranke
Miloš Zečević

Translated by

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“*ut nullus teloneum exigat nisi in mercatibus ubi communia commertia
emuntur ac venundantur*”** 159

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FIGURE 0.1
The Horse and the Donkey—*Hortus deliciarum*,
ca. 1180

Abbreviations

MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Capit.	capitularia
Conc.	concilia
Const.	constitutiones
LL	leges
Necr.	Necrologia
S.N.	nova series
Ss	Scriptores
Ss rer. Germ.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum
MPH	Monumenta Poloniae Historica

Introduction

The literature on the organization of trade in the 10th–12th centuries is a considerable body of work constituting a separate category of research in the field of interdisciplinary medieval studies. It refers to a number of theoretical concepts that define a way of perceiving phenomena observed in the source materials. It also determines the choice of a specific conceptual terminology.¹ The questions raised by researchers concern not only the ways in which the mechanisms of economic and symbolic impact are perceived, but also the attribution of certain categories with specific meanings.²

The basis for these investigations is to define the relations between the nature of human activity in the past and the ways of interpreting the observed phenomena (*homo oeconomicus* vs. *homo symbolicus*).³ The theoretical considerations thus refer to a number of basic concepts, such as markets, trade, barter, and money. In terms of interpretation, it is also a kind of “programme declaration” of researchers dealing with the topic of trade in the High Middle Ages, defined on two radically different planes: the first emphasizes the magical and symbolic dimensions of the observed phenomena, while the second reduces them to the impact of market mechanisms.⁴ One such consideration

1 Chris Hann and Keith Hart, *Economic Anthropology: History, Ethnography, Critique* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 72–97.

2 Harold K. Schneider, *Economic Man: The Anthropology of Economies* (London: Free Press, 1974), p. 43. See also Richard F. Salisbury, “Economic anthropology,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 2 (1973), 85. Stephen Gudeman, *Community, Market and Culture* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2001), pp. 5–8. See also Karl Polanyi, “The economy as instituted process,” in *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory*, eds. Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg and Harry W. Pearson, (New York: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 243–57. Robert T. Heilbroner, *The Making of Economic Society: Revised for the mid 1980s* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1980), pp. 23–42. See Richard Hodges, *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne* (Liverpool: Gerald Duckworth, 2000), pp. 35–67. Ankie M. Hoogvelt, *The Sociology of Developing Societies* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1976), pp. 9–49.

3 Keith Hart, “Money: one anthropologist’s view,” in *A Handbook of Economic Anthropology*, ed. James G. Carrier, (Cheltenham/Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2005), pp. 161–68. Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economies* (Chicago/New York: Aldine-Atherton, 1974), pp. 185–230. Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money* (London/New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 61–108.

4 Jarosław Tambor, “Pieniężne funkcje biżuterii srebrnej na ziemiach polskich w X–XI wieku,” *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 33 (1989), nos. 1–4 (127–130), 15–35. Przemysław Urbańczyk, “Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby złomu srebrnego,” in *Moneta Mediaevalis: Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi S. Suchodolskiemu w 65 rocznicę urodzin*, eds. Ryszard Kiersnowski, Stefan K. Kuczyński, Marta Męclewska, Mariusz Mielczarek and Borys Paszkiewicz, (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2002), pp. 209–21.

is the broad current of theoretical inquiries related to the phenomenon of medieval silver hoards.

In the case of these studies, specific attention is drawn both to the functioning of networks of far-reaching commercial connections, and to the importance of socio-cultural changes observed in the source materials. There is also an interest in the scale and subject of trade.⁵ In terms of synthesis, investigations in this domain rely on the results of research in the fields of economic history, archaeology, and cultural anthropology. In terms of methodology, it also incorporates the fields of diplomacy, numismatics, toponymy, and historical geography.⁶ Furthermore, research in this area utilizes certain theoretical frameworks. The importance of concepts related to the functioning of the world system, central places, and centers defined as *gateway cities* has been repeatedly pointed out in the research.⁷ In discussing the understanding of economic transformations in the past in combination with the associated group of economic phenomena, elements of controversies between substantivists and formalists are also considered.

Within contemporary medieval studies, this dispute refers not only to defining the relationships between symbolical-religious activities and the manifestations of economic rationality of past communities, but also to two fundamentally different methods of interpreting the source materials.⁸ Further debate also revolves around the specific definition of bullion money, wealth, and trade in the Early and High Middle Ages. Trade is perceived both through the prism of market mechanisms and through the relations between the circulation of gifts and phenomena such as power, reciprocity, and prestige.⁹ It also

5 Henry Maguire, "Magic and money in the early middle ages," *Speculum* 72 (1997), no. 4, 1037–54. Matthias Hardt, *Gold und Herrschaft: Die Schätze Europäischer Könige und Fürsten im Ersten Jahrtausend* (Europa im Mittelalter), 6 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004), 15–18. See also Matthias Hardt, *Gold und Herrschaft*, pp. 136–54.

6 William Norton, *Historical Analysis in Geography* (London/New York: Longman, 1984), pp. 10–36.

7 Chris Hann and Keith Hart, *Economic Anthropology*, pp. 83–99.

8 Stanisław Tabaczyński, "Szkola 'Annales', 'la Nouvelle Histoire' i archeologia polska," in *Przeszłość społeczna: próba konceptualizacji*, eds. Stanisław Tabaczyński, Arkadiusz Marciniak, Dorota Cyngot and Anna Zalewska, (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2012), pp. 117–31.

9 Aafke E. Komter, *Social Solidarity and the Gift* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Ralph Merifield, *The Archeology of Ritual and Magic* (New Amsterdam/New York: Ralph Merifield, 1987), pp. 1–8. Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The principle of reciprocity," in *The Gift: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, ed. Aafke E. Komter, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), p. 18. Bernhard Jussen, "Religious discourses of the gift in the middle ages: semantic evidences (second to twelfth centuries)," in *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-modern Figurations of Exchange*, eds. Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner and Bernhard Jussen, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), pp. 173–92.

refers to the processes related to the formation of trade fair centers in the areas participating in the exchange.¹⁰

The areas participating in exchange were perceived theoretically in this study, referring to how central places within ancient world systems related to one another. References to the concepts of *gateway cities* and *break in transportation theory* also remain important.¹¹ The attention of researchers was also drawn to the functioning of interregional contacts, perceived through the analysis of elite networks.¹² Researchers also referred to a broad stream of inquiries concerning how medieval systems of power organisation originated in Central and Eastern Europe and Northern Europe.¹³

Considerable attention has also been paid to the inflow of oriental coins to these areas and to the presence of bullion finds.¹⁴ The importance of

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- 10 Bettina Emmerich, *Geiz und Gerechtigkeit: Ökonomisches Denken im frühen Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004), pp. 20–32.
- 11 Robert Krzysztofik, “Miasta-wrota: Zarys teorii i przegląd badań,” *Czasopismo Geograficzne* 75 (2004), 213–31. A group of earlier inquiries conducted by Franciszek Bujak may refer to this concept. Franciszek Bujak, “Dziejowe znaczenie morza,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 23 (1921), nos. 1–2, 12. Charles H. Cooley, “The theory of transportation,” *Publications of the American Economic Association* 9 (1894), no. 3, 13–148.
- 12 The concepts mentioned above are discussed in the first part of the work. There is further literature there. For the concept of network theory, see Barry Wellmann, Peter J. Carrington and Alan Hall, “Networks as personal communities,” in *Social Structures: a Network Approach*, eds. Barry Wellman and Stephen D. Berkowitz, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 130–50. Christopher Tilley, “Social formation, social structures and social change,” in *Symbolic and Structural Archeology*, ed. Ian Hodder, (London/New York/New Rochelle/Melbourne/Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 26–37.
- 13 The issue mentioned above is of a scope that goes far beyond the framework of this work. Przemysław Urbańczyk has recently spoken about the criteria of functioning of high medieval state forms. He attempts to define the conditions of a theoretical model for these factors. Przemysław Urbańczyk, *Mieszko I Tajemniczy* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2012), pp. 41–57.
- 14 On the notion of hoards and their cultural significance, see George Hill, *Treasure Trove in Law and Practice: From the Earliest Tome to the Present Day* (Oxford: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1956), pp. 1–57. Egil Mikkelsen, “The find in its context,” in *The Hoen Hoard: A Viking Gold Treasure of the Ninth Century*, eds. Signe H. Fugelsang and David M. Wilson, (Oslo: Bardi Editore, 2006), pp. 29–50. Władysław Łosiński, “Miejsce Pomorza i Wielkopolski w kształtowaniu się gospodarki towarowo-pieniężnej w Polsce wczesnofeudalnej,” *Slavia Antiqua* 37 (1996), 165–6. Władysław Łosiński, “Chronologia napływu najstarszej monety arabskiej na terytorium Europy,” *Slavia Antiqua* 31 (1988), 93–4. Kazimierz Wachowski, “Systemy odważników w Polsce średniowiecznej,” in *Świat Słowian wczesnego średniowiecza*, eds. Marek Dworaczek, Anna B. Kowalska, Sławomir Moździoch and Marian Rębkowski, (Szczecin/Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2006), p. 359. Adam Glikman, “Obieg monet bizantyjskich na terenie Wielkopolski w X–XI wieku,” *Slavia Antiqua* 44 (2003), 98. Barry Ager and James Graham-Campbell, “Discovery and contents,” in *The Huxley Viking Hoard: Scandinavian Settlement in the North West*, eds. James Graham-Campbell and Robert Philpott, (Liverpool: The Dorset

phenomena connected with the functioning of trade conducted from the 7th to the 11th centuries between large areas of Europe and the Muslim world is also emphasized.¹⁵ The genesis of this phenomenon was primarily found in the increase in the demand of the Samanid Empire (819–1005) for categories of goods such as slaves, animal fur, honey, wax, elements of armament, and dyes, observed on the basis of the analysis of the source material.¹⁶ Decorative fabrics, salt, metals, and objects made of bronze, tin, iron, and glass were also traded.¹⁷ Among the works related to the above-mentioned issues, studies conducted by scientists such as Stanisław Tabaczyński, Stanisław Suchodolski, Władysław Duczko, James Graham-Campbell, Gert Hatz, Simon Franklin, Jonathan Shepard, and Heiko Steuer are particularly important.¹⁸

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- Press, 2009), pp. 45–8. Birgitta Hårdt, “Oriental-scandinavian contacts on the Volga, as manifested by silver rings and weight system,” in *Silver Economy in the Viking Age*, eds. James Graham Campbell and Gareth Williams, (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007), pp. 135–47. Kolbjørn Skaare, *Coins and Coinage in Viking-Age Norway: The Establishment of a National Coinage in Norway in the XI Century, With a Survey of the Preceding Currency History* (Oslo/Bergen/Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1976), pp. 11–24. Jane F. Kershaw, *Viking Identities: Scandinavian Jewellery in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 20–41.
- 15 Przemysław Urbańczyk, *Milenijna podróż transkontynentalna* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2001), p. 47. Ryszard Kiersnowski, “Zagadnienie obiegu pieniądza wczesnośredniowiecznego na obszarze Polski północno-wschodniej,” *Acta Baltico Slavica* 1 (1964), 94. Marian Gumowski, “Moneta arabska w Polsce w IX i X wieku,” *Zapiski Historyczne* 24 (1958/1959), no. 1, 12. Imre Boba, *Nomads, Northmen and Slavs: Eastern Europe in the Ninth Century*. (Slavo-Orientalia), 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967). Tom Saunders, “Early medieval emporia and the tributary social function,” in *Wics: The Early Medieval Trading Centres of Northern Europe*, eds. David Hill and Robert Cowie, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), pp. 7–13.
- 16 Information on the dyes of interest to merchants is provided in several places in the account of Ibrahim ibn Yacob. A newcomer from Muslim Tortose mentioned the pigments used by women and men in Schleswig. He also pointed to a group of dyes used by the inhabitants of the Shashin. In the account of al-Kazwini there is a reference to high quality yarn, which was said to be white or turquoise in colour. Georg Jacob, *Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an germanische Fürstenthümer aus dem 9. und 10. Jahrhundert* (Berlin/Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1927), pp. 29–32.
- 17 *Relacja Ibrahima ibn Jakuba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich w przekładzie al-Bekriego*, ed. Tadeusz Kowalski, MPH, Sn. 1 (Cracow: Skł. gł. Księg. Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1946), p. 146. See Jacques Nenquin *Salt: A Study in Economic Prehistory*. (Brugge: De Tempel, 1961).
- 18 Stanisław Tabaczyński, *Archeologia średniowieczna: Problemy, źródła, cele badawcze* (Wrocław/Warsaw/Cracow/Gdańsk/Łódź: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1987). Stanisław Tabaczyński, “Z zagadnień poznawczych skarbów wczesnośredniowiecznych,” *Archeologia Polski* 1 (1957), 82–102. Stanisław Suchodolski, “Change of transcontinental contacts as indicated by coins in the Baltic zone around 1000,” in *Europe Around the Year 1000*, ed. Przemysław Urbańczyk, (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2001), pp. 85–100. Władysław Duczko, *The Filigree and Granulation Work on the Viking Period: An Analysis of*

The results of researchers such as Mateusz Bogucki and Märit Gaimster are also noteworthy.¹⁹

The present study also highlights the importance of the centers of political and economic import of the Ottonian Empire and the Eastern Empire,²⁰ as perceived primarily through the prism of their influence on the social and cultural transformations in the 10th–12th centuries.²¹ Their definition as generative centers also determined the scope of the conducted investigations on the basis of the relations observed between the areas of *barbaricum* (seen as semi-peripheral and peripheral centers) and the empires that performed a central function. Utilizing the hypotheses of Henri Pirenne and Michael McCormick, the present study considers the genesis of these phenomena.²² Pirenne and McCormick were looking for the sources of the European economy in the

the Material from Björkö (Birka Untersuchungen und Studien), 5 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1985). Heiko Steuer, “Die Ostsee als Kernraum des 10. Jahrhunderts und ihre Peripherien, Siedlungsforschung,” *Archäologie-Geschichte-Geographie* 22 (2004), 59–88. James Graham-Campbell, “Reflections on silver economy in the viking age,” in *Silver Economy in the Viking Age*, eds. James Graham Campbell and Gareth Williams, (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007), pp. 215–22. Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus 750–1200* (London/New York: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1996), pp. 3–265.

- 19 Mateusz Bogucki, “Coin finds in the viking age emporium at Janów Pomorski (Truso) and the Prussian phenomenon,” in *Money Circulation in Antiquity the Middle Ages and Modern Times: Time, Range, Intensity*, eds. Stanisław Suchodolski and Mateusz Bogucki, (Warsaw/Cracow: Avalon, 2007), pp. 79–104. Marit Gaimster, *Viking Economies: Evidence From the Silver Hoards*, in *Silver Economy in the Viking Age*, pp. 123–34. Mateusz Bogucki, Stanisław Suchodolski, Peter Illisch, “Einleitung,” in *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen: Inventar IV*, (Warsaw: Expol, 2013), pp. 8–15.
- 20 Karl Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900–1250* (London: Hambledon, 1982), pp. 11–101. David Ganz, “Giving to God in the mass: the experience of the Offertory,” in *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 18–32. Alan C. Murray, *Germanic Kinship Structure: Studies in Law and Society in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1983), pp. 135–50. Daniel Bachrach, “Exercise of royal power in early medieval Europe: the case of Otto the Great,” *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009), no. 4, 389–419. Daniel Bachrach, “Henry I of Germany’s 929 military campaign in archeological perspective,” *Early Medieval Europe* 21 (2013), no. 3, 307–37.
- 21 James W. Thompson, “Medieval German expansion in Bohemia and Poland: selected excerpts,” in *The Expansion of Central Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Nora Berend, (Farnham: Ashgate/Variorum, 2012), pp. 1–37.
- 22 Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe: Archeology and the Pirenne Thesis* (London: Gerald Duckworth CO&Ltd., 1983), pp. 20–102. Jennifer R. Davies, Michael McCormick, “The early Middle Ages: Europe’s long morning,” in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, eds. Jennifer R. Davis, Michael McCormick, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2008), pp. 1–10.

transformations initiated at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries. It is worth emphasizing that the economic processes they indicate may also be typical for the relations among Byzantium, Rus', and the Balkan Peninsula.²³

These processes can be understood as a result of the aspirations of various individuals within high medieval power networks (at the level of families and elite connections) to subdue their subordinate territories to the impact of interregional trade routes. In the peripheral areas, power networks were "commercial-military consortia" interested in deriving direct benefits from trade and the use of coercive apparatus and military surveillance (in its institutionalised form). At the same time, access to traded goods remained a source of social status and prestige. It was also a guarantee of the system of redistribution of goods, thus reinforcing the relative durability of power structures dependent on their circulation. In the Christian world, they were also seen through the lens of commemorative practices and relations between the circles of *fundatores* and *debitores*.

This study is an attempt to compare theoretical concepts present in the relevant literature and related interpretations (ranging from communication theory to the systems of influence of central places) with source analysis carried out from a comparative perspective. The chronological framework is the 10th–12th centuries. Sometimes, however, the nature of the analyses carried out and the resource of the source material goes beyond the chronology, indicating phenomena characterizing long term processes (*longue durée*). The selection of areas subject to comparative analysis was related to the indication of similarities in the scope of observed transformations in the areas under the influence of the Ottonian Empire and the Eastern Empire. They were perceived through the prism of the theories of the functioning of the world system and the parallel influence of the center, taking into account the variability of the observed phenomena. Attention was drawn not only to the theoretical discourse present in the literature, but also to a group of issues related to ways of defining the concept of trade and the subject of merchants' activity in the Early and High Middle Ages. The present work also draws attention to Scandinavian economic penetration and signals the importance of issues related to production and dependent population categories. In order to illustrate the dynamics of the transformations taking place, a separate catalogue has been added as a source study. As authors, we would like to thank all those who supported us.

23 For the characteristics of these phenomena, see Sture Bolin, "Mohammed, Charlemagne and Ruric," in *The Pirenne Thesis: Analysis, Criticism and Revision*, ed. Alfred F. Havighurst, (Lexington/Massachusetts/Toronto/London: D.C. Heath and Company, 1976), pp. 112–31.

Theories of Socioeconomic Impact: from Immanuel Wallerstein's 'World Systems' to Kondratiev/Schumpeter Waves

1.1 World Systems Analysis: from Business Cycles to Ancient World Theory

In scholarly literature, we find wide-ranging theoretical inquiries related to the perception of trade and the origins of past economic phenomena.¹ Different approaches determine the particular interpretations of economic changes,

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- 1 One of these theoretical currents in the literature is a concept of the functioning of the world systems in the past, known as the ancient world systems theory, created on grounds formed by Immanuel Wallerstein's inquiries. In particular, the ancient world systems theory involves the question of how far back in the past it is possible to project the phenomena observed by Wallerstein. See Kajsa Ekholm and Jonathan Friedman, "Capital imperialism and exploitation in ancient world systems," in *Historical Transformations: The Anthropology of Global Systems*, eds. Kajsa Ekholm and Jonathan Friedman, (Lanham/New York/Toronto/Plymouth: AltaMira Press, 2008), pp. 59–70. See also Jonathan Friedman and Michael J. Rowlands, "Notes toward epigenetic model of the evolution of civilization," in *Historical Transformations: The Anthropology of Global Systems*, pp. 87–92. This current in inquiries concerning archaeological research was summarized by Christoph Kümmel. Christoph Kümmel, *Frühe Weltsysteme: Zentrum und Peripherie-Modelle in der Archäologie*, (Tübinger Texte. Materialien zur Ur- und Frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie) 4 (Rahden/Westfalen: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2001). What might be of interest in the model of ancient world systems theory is precisely its historical aspect: the possibility of perceiving the ancient empires through the prism of the world system (or rather of world systems). One can also find here a concept which is not Eurocentric. This aspect was discussed by Janet Abu-Lughod. See Janet Abu-Lughod, "Discontinuities and persistence. One world system or a succession of systems?," in *The World Systems: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?*, eds. Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills, (London/New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 278–88. The genesis of ancient world systems theory is connected with studies referring to the theory of central places, which in turn was a form of reception of the concept of Walter Christaller and the mainstream inquiry of such scholars as Karl Polanyi, Marcel Mauss, and Fernand Braudel. See Walter Christaller, "How I discovered the theory of central places: a report about the origin of central places," in *Man, Space, and Environment: Concepts in Contemporary Human Geography*, eds. Paul W. English and Robert C. Mayfield, (New York/ London/Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 601–11. Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of our Time* (Boston/Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 2001), pp. 59–68 (2nd ed.). Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. trans. Ian Cunnison, (London: Norton, 1966). Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism 15th–18th Century: The Wheels of Commerce*, trans. Sian Reynolds,

as well as the views on their associated sociocultural transformations.² They also limit the scope for defining observed phenomena, at the same time deciding on a specific conceptual apparatus.³ Among them, a set of research hypotheses referring to Immanuel Wallerstein's theory of world systems is of particular importance.⁴

Wallerstein's approach, developed in the 1970s, articulates that the modern economic system (perceived through the prism of market economy) is rooted in economic processes launched in the 15th and 16th centuries.⁵ As he sees it, the emergence of a capitalist economy overlapped with the period of colonial domination of Spain and Portugal and the beginnings of European expansion.⁶ Expansion of the geographical horizon resulted in various socio-economic transformations, which in turn developed into a particular system, gradually including all 'the external areas' under the sphere of influence of 'the

(London: William Collins Sons & Co Ltd., 1982). See Daniel Chirot and Thomas D. Hall, "World-system theory," *Annual Review of Sociology* 8 (1982), 84–7.

- 2 Immanuel Wallerstein, *Unthinking Social Science: The Limits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), p. 51.
- 3 See Christopher Ch. Dunn, "Core-periphery relations: the effects of core competition," in *Social Change in the Capitalist World Economy*, eds. Barbara Hockey Kaplan and Immanuel Wallerstein, (Beverly Hills/London: Sage Publications, 1978), pp. 160–170. See also Jörg Güsefeldt, "Die Raumwirtschaftstheorien von Christaller und Lösch aus der Sicht von Wirtschaftsgeographie und 'New Economic Geography,'" (Göttinger Geographische Abhandlungen) 114 (Göttingen: Verlag Erich Goltze, 2005), pp. 44–59.
- 4 Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2004), pp. 1–23.
- 5 Charles E. Orser, "World-systems theory, networks and modern-world archaeology," in *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*, eds. Teresita Majewski and David Gaimster, (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 253–56.
- 6 Immanuel Wallerstein published his theory in three consecutive works, referring to the breakthrough moments in the economic history of the modern world. This series of works begin a study dedicated to the transformations started in the 16th century. His subsequent works were dedicated to the concept of mercantilism and the functioning of the economy between 1600 and 1750. Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York/San Francisco/London: University of California Press, 1974). Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the Europe and World Economy: 1600–1750* (New York/London, Toronto/Sydney/San Francisco: University of California Press, 1980). See also Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System III: The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy: 1730–1840* (San Diego/New York/ Berkeley/Boston/London/Sydney/Tokyo/Toronto: University of California Press 1989). It is worth emphasizing that Wallerstein's book was inspired by the works of Fernand Braudel. It was Braudel to whom it was dedicated. For the characteristics of the scientific achievements of Immanuel Wallerstein and his ideas, see Jan N. Pietersee, "A critique of world system theory," *International Sociology* 3 (1988), no. 3, 251–56.

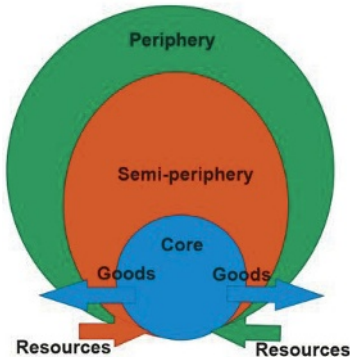


FIGURE 1.1
Economic relationship model based on the
'core-semi-periphery-periphery' schema

core.' The subordination of the former to the latter was reflected in a model of circulation of goods and economic resources (generated and redistributed by the core, or the center), a model that was typical of the 'world system.'⁷ Throughout history, the origins of this system were set by consecutive eras of great empires. Wallerstein saw them as one of the natural manifestations of production surplus accumulation and a reflection of market mechanisms.⁸

This kind of approach (as well as the conceptual apparatus referring to redistributive mini-systems) was inspired by concepts created on the basis of historical materialism.⁹ Wallerstein's works also referred to structuralism,

7 See Fig. 1.1: Economic relationship model based on the 'core-semi-periphery-periphery' schema.

8 Lutz Zündorf, *Zur Aktualität von Immanuel Wallerstein: Einleitung in sein Werk: Aktuelle und klassische Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaftler* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2010), pp. 25–8. Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern world system: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy*, pp. 15–40. It should be noted that the central areas can sometimes affect the semi-periphery and periphery in a parallel manner. For this reason, Walter Christaller's model presents their interactions in form of a hexagon, clearly indicating the common elements of the economic impact of the various centers. This aspect was discussed by Andrzej Wróbel. Andrzej Wróbel, "Przedmowa," in *Teoria Ośrodków Centralnych: Przegląd Zagranicznej Literatury Geograficznej*, (Warsaw: Instytut Geografii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1963), pp. 1–6. See also Solomon I. Cohen, *World Development and Economic Systems: Theory Applications* (New Jersey/London/Singapore/Beijing/Shanghai: World Scientific, 2015), pp. 3–9. They make up the individual elements of spatial structure which, in economic geography, is defined as a system of economic actors and their activities which form a specific production, consumer, and social arrangement—a system existing in the real world laid down in a particular way. See Kazimierz Kuciński, *Geografia ekonomiczna: zarys teoretyczny* (Warsaw: Szkoła Główna Handlowa, 2002), p. 17.

9 Wallerstein himself was interested in the historical aspect of Marxism-Leninism and its associated transformations. This was also reflected in a series of essays published in Cambridge. Immanuel Wallerstein, "Marx, Marxism-Leninism, and socialist experiences in the modern world-system," in *Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the Changing World-System*, ed.

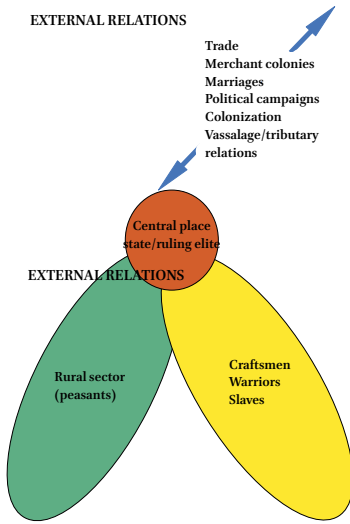


FIGURE 1.2

Articulation of internal and external relations schema in a structural model of the global system, as seen from the perspective of the society (or the state) as a unit. After: Kajsa Ekholm, “Structure, dynamics, and the final collapse of bronze age civilisations in the second millennium,” in *Historical Transformations: The Anthropology of Global Systems*, eds. Kajsa Ekholm and Jonathan Friedman (Lanham/New York/Toronto, Plymouth: AltaMira Press, 2008), fig. 6.2, p. 168

evolutionism, globalism and circulationism as a part of analysed economic systems.¹⁰ Typical of the core, the constitutive element of the ‘world system,’ was multiplying its relationships and the repeatability of economic phenomena. Those relationships and phenomena were analysed according to Kondratiev/Schumpeter cycles (business and hegemonic cycles).¹¹

It is worth noting that on theoretical grounds, the ‘world system’ model also referred to the concept of *longue durée*.¹² Wallerstein, inspired by the

Immanuel Wallerstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 84–9. See also Gérard Duménil and Dominique Lévy, “Old theories and new capitalism: the actuality of a Marxist economics,” in *Critical Companion to Marxism*, eds. Jacques Bidet and Stathis Kouvelakis (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), p. 108.

10 Lutz Zündorf, *Zur Aktualität von Immanuel Wallerstein*, p. 24.

11 Jan N. Pietersee, “A critique of world system theory,” p. 258. Immanuel Wallerstein emphasized the importance of crisis phenomena. These were seen through the prism of business cycles (observed in a phase cycle of 50–60 years) and hegemonic cycles (studied from a historical perspective and lasting around 150 years). Lutz Zündorf, *Zur Aktualität von Immanuel Wallerstein*, p. 140. See Jonathan Friedman, “Crises in theory and transformations of the world economy,” in *Historical Transformations: The Anthropology of Global Systems*, pp. 43–8.

12 Immanuel Wallerstein was fascinated by the research of Fernand Braudel, Marc Bloch, and Karl Marx. These inspirations are present in virtually all his works. For the definition of *longue durée*. See Fernand Braudel, “Histoire et sciences sociales. La longue durée,” *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 13 (1958), no. 4, 725–53. For the perception of the feudal economy, see Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society: The Growth of Ties of Dependence*, trans. L. A. Manyon, (London/New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 59–71. For the perception

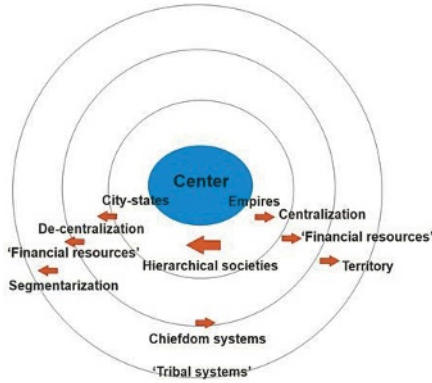


FIGURE 1.3

The scheme of sociocultural transformations in the 'ancient world systems' approach. After: Christoph Kümmel, *Frühe Weltssysteme: Zentrum und Peripherie-Modelle in der Archäologie* (Tübinger Texte. Materialien zur Ur- und Frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie), 4 (Rahden/Westfalen: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2001), p. 35

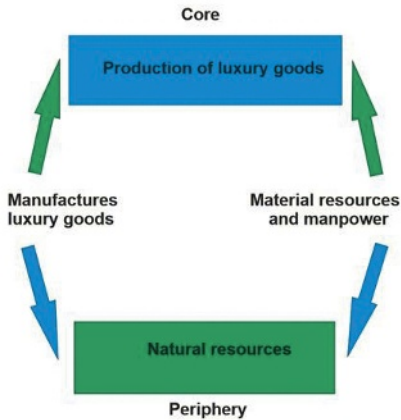


FIGURE 1.4

The scheme of core/periphery production relations. After: Kajsa Ekholm, Structure, dynamics, and the final collapse of bronze age civilisations in the second millennium, in *Historical Transformations: The Anthropology of Global Systems*, eds. Kajsa Ekholm and Jonathan Friedman, (Lanham/New York/Toronto/Plymouth: AltaMira Press, 2008), fig. 6.4, p. 173

works of Fernand Braudel, considered the repeatability of modern economic phenomena.¹³ In his view, the quasi-fair monopolies, from their creation, were not only closely linked to the institution of the state, but they also exerted a

of history by March Bloch, see Alette Olin Hill and Boyd H. Hill, "Marc Bloch and comparative history," *The American Historical Review* 85 (1980), no. 4, 828–846. Perceiving modernity through the prism of continuity of a single system also distinguished his views from Max Weber's. Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie* (Cologne/Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1964), pp. 60–1. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Sian Reynolds, (New York/Hagerstown/San Francisco/London: Collins, 1972). See also Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, "Fernand Braudel, the Annales, and the Mediterranean," *The Journal of Modern History* 44 (1972), no. 4, 470–78.

13 Immanuel Wallerstein, *Historical Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1983), pp. 13–14. See Fig.1.3: After: Christoph Kümmel, *Frühe Weltssysteme: Zentrum und Peripherie-Modelle in der*

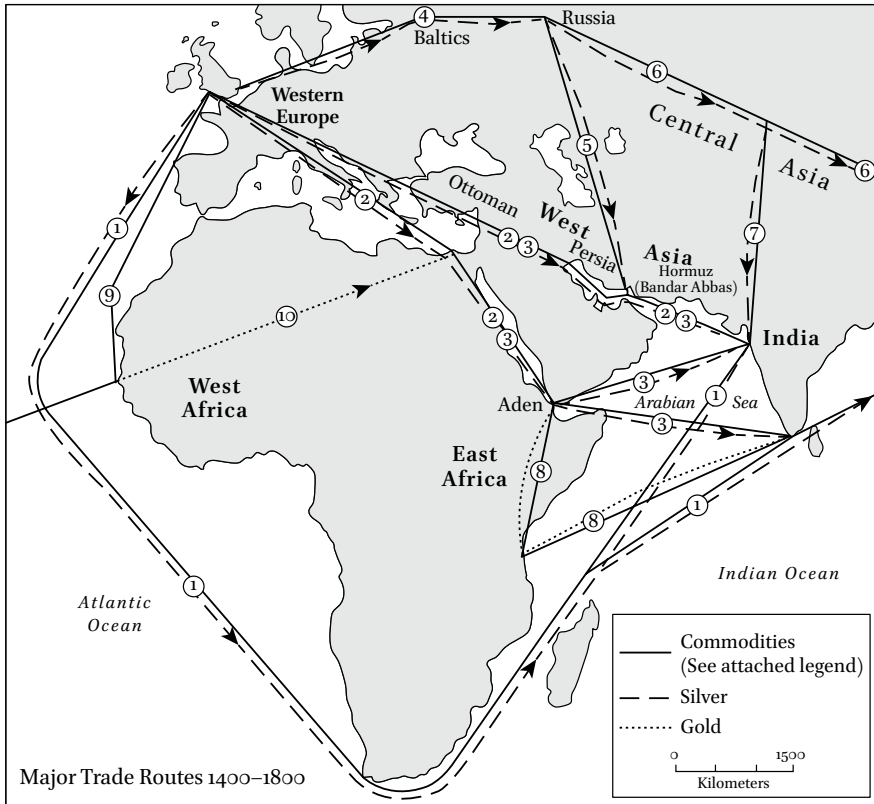


FIGURE 1.5 The global system (Afro-West Asian Region) according to Andre Gunder Frank. After: Andre G. Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1998), p. 76

strong influence on the shape of the economic relations between the cores and their direct economic hinterlands on the level of semi-peripheral and peripheral regions.¹⁴

It is worth stressing that Wallerstein’s attempt to make a comprehensive representation of economic history (and, in principle, a model of market

Archäologie (Tübinger Texte: Materialien zur Ur-und Frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie) 4 (Rahden/Westfalen: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2001), p. 35.

14 Lutz Zündorf, *Zur Aktualität von Immanuel Wallerstein*, pp. 15–21. See also Thomas D. Hall, “Using comparative frontiers to explore world-system analysis in international relations,” *International Studies Perspectives* 2 (2001), 256–58.

economy evolution) was one of the grounds for criticism of his world systems theory.¹⁵ Similar criticism was also expressed towards his Eurocentrism.¹⁶

However, his concept has been applied to studying trade among areas of significant sociocultural diversity.¹⁷ Moreover, scholars have discussed the extent of which it is possible to transplant theoretical assumptions of ‘world systems’ onto the distant past.¹⁸ An issue was also raised whether we should assume not only one but many ‘world-systems.’ It is from these inquiries that the ‘ancient world theory’ emerged. Behind this concept lay a belief that there was a network of interactions within ancient communities, and that they were not isolated from one another. Interest was also drawn to the question of socioeconomic system-related changes, an aspect reflected in the work of Eric R. Wolf. The achievements of a team led by Timothy Champion look similar.¹⁹

It is important to note that the development of ancient world systems also resulted in the processes leading to the emergence of early forms of the state. Their structure was in turn characterized by a set of socioeconomic relationships and mechanisms based on the flow of goods and benefits.²⁰

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- 15 Andre Gunder Frank made an attempt to introduce an idea challenging the legitimacy of the observations on the functioning of the world system. Not only was the Eurocentric approach criticized, but Wallerstein's way of perceiving the past was also contested. This, faced with the concept of world systems, already expresses the title of the work of the scholar. See Andre G. Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 70–148. Andre G. Frank, *World Accumulation 1492–1789* (New York: Algora Publishing, 1979), pp. 36–64. Albert Bergesen, “Turning world system theory on its head,” *Theory Culture & Society* 7 (1990), 70–5.
- 16 However, such a way of interpreting the phenomena discussed by Wallerstein resulted from the chosen scope of analytical and empirical material. It was also directly motivated by his scientific inspirations. Lutz Zündorf, *Zur Aktualität von Immanuel Wallerstein*, p. 23.
- 17 Christoph Kümmel, *Frühe Weltsysteme*, p. 39.
- 18 Kajsa Ekholm Friedman and Jonathan Friedman, “Capital imperialism and exploitation in ancient world systems,” in *Historical Transformations: The Anthropology of Global Systems*, pp. 141–53.
- 19 See Timothy Champion, Clive Gamble, Stephen Shennan and Alasdair Whittle, *Prehistoric Europe* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2009), pp. 2–9. Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2010), pp. 7–23. See also Kajsa Ekholm, “Structure, dynamics, and the final collapse of bronze age civilisations in the second millennium,” in *Historical Transformations: The Anthropology of Global Systems*, pp. 167–77. Geoffrey C. Gunn, *First Globalization: The Eurasian Exchange 1500–1800* (Lanham/Boulder/New York/Toronto/Oxford: Rowman&Littlefield Publishers, 2003), pp. 1–10.
- 20 See Fig. 1.4: The scheme of core/periphery production relations. After: Kajsa Ekholm, “Structure, dynamics, and the final collapse of bronze age civilisations in the second millennium,” in *Historical Transformations: The Anthropology of Global Systems*, fig. 6.4, p. 173. See also William I. Miller, “Gift, sale, payment, raid: case studies in the negotiation and classification of exchange in medieval Iceland,” *Speculum* 61 (1986), no. 1, 23.

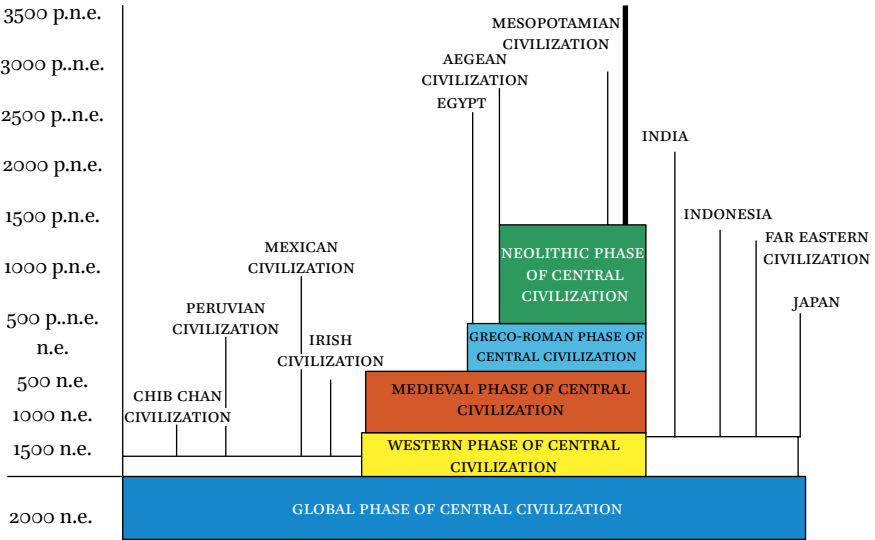


FIGURE 1.6 Phases of ‘Central Civilization.’ After: David Wilkinson, “Civilizations, cores, world economies, and oikumenes,” in *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?*, eds. Andre G. Frank and Barry K. Gills, (London/New York: Routledge 1993), fig. 7.1, p. 223



FIGURE 1.7 Scheme of circulation of goods and services: gift exchange and trade. After: Andrew Strathern and Pamela J. Stewart, “Ceremonial exchange,” in *A Handbook of Economic Anthropology*, ed. James G. Carrier (Cheltenham/ Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2005), pp. 232–45

This kind of perspective can be simultaneously seen through the prism of the related processes of centralization and de-centralization of power, thus affirming the validity of the questions posed by Immanuel Wallerstein. To assimilate the elements of this theory (or rather its modifications) within historical inquiry involves first and foremost, the embedding of its theoretical basis in the *longue durée* processes and the incorporation of the achievements of the *Annales* school. Neither are ideas referring to the state-building processes negligible: they can be linked, albeit indirectly, with the elements of a historiographical tradition that draws from historical materialism and state determinism.²¹ As we see, this current was also a result of Wallerstein's scientific inspirations, as much as the references to socioeconomic concepts were.²²

1.2 Central Place Theory, Gateway Cities, Break-In Transportation Theory: an Outline

The foundations for the theory of central places were laid by Walter Christaller and his geographical studies. In 1933, he published his dissertation *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland*, submitted to the University of Jena, showing how to define relations observed between spatial structures and economic dimensions

21 An example of these inquiries is Michał Kara's millennium research. See Michał Kara, *Najstarsze państwo Piastów: Rezultat przełomu czy kontynuacji?: Studium archeologiczne* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2009), pp. 204–5. See also John Hatcher and Mark Bailey, *Modelling the Middle Ages: The History and Theory of England's Economic Development* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 1–9.

22 His sources included the two historical schools of Leopold von Ranke and Fernand Braudel, but also Morgan-Engels' theory and Max Weber's concepts. Moreover, Wallerstein was fascinated by the works of James George Frazer, Bronisław Malinowski, and Marcel Mauss. The historiographic system included such ideas as the dominant center and peripheries parallel to it, which were exploited economically. It is worth noting that the center-periphery and the metropolises-satellites scheme was used and extremely popular not only among anthropologists, but also among historians. In this way, on the basis of economic transformations, a model was also created in which craft production and trade were more important for a central region than for local ones. For this idea, see Jeremy S. Eades, "Anthropology, political economy and world-system theory," in *A Handbook of Economic Anthropology*, p. 28. Immanuel Wallerstein, "Global culture(s): Salvation, menace, or myth," in *Die Welt Querdenken: Festschrift für Hans-Heinrich Nolte zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Carl-Hans Hauptmeyer, Dariusz Adamczyk, Beate Eschment and Udo Obal, (Frankfurt on the Main/Berlin/Bern/Bruxelles/New York/Oxford/Vienna: Peter Lang Frankfurt, 2003), pp. 17–21.

of settlement systems (or networks.)²³ Christaller's concept was subsequently clarified on economic grounds by August Lösch.²⁴ The genesis and significance of these studies were discussed by Edward Ullman, an American geographer who also published on periodic trade and its functions.²⁵ It is worth noting that research by scholars such as Michael Hechter, Gerhard Dobesch, Gabriele Isenberg, and Walter Pohl drew on the same theoretical current.²⁶ Their works demonstrate the wide scope and possibilities of adopting the various elements of central place theory in historical research.²⁷

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- 23 Nurudeen Alao, Michael F. Dacey, Omar Davies, Kenneth G. Denike, James Huff, John B. Parr and M.J. Webber, *Christaller Central Place Structures: An Introductory Statement* (Evanston, Ill.: Department of Geography, Northwestern University, 1977), pp. 2–7. Nashwan S. Abdullah, "Formulate theoretical model to measure the centrality of cities (case study: Cities of Erbil Governatore/Iraq)," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 4 (2014), no. 14, 93–5.
- 24 August Lösch, "The nature of economic regions," *Southern Economic Journal* 5 (1938), 71–8.
- 25 Edward Ullman, "A theory of location for cities," *American Journal of Sociology* 46 (1941), 853–64. Edward Ullman, "Space and/or time: Opportunity for substitution and prediction," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 63 (1974), 126–8. A summary of the current inquiry on theoretical grounds was discussed by Ewelina Siemianowska. Ewelina Siemianowska, "O zastosowaniu niektórych modeli teoretycznych w badaniach nad ośrodkami miejskimi w średniowieczu," *Archeologia Historica Polona* 22 (2014), 28–35.
- 26 Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: British National Development 1536–1966* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 30–2. Gerhard Dobesch, "Zentrum, Peripherie und 'Barbaren' in der Urgeschichte und der alten Geschichte," in *Zentrum und Peripherie: Gesellschaftliche Phänomene in der Frühgeschichte*, eds. von Herwig Freisinger and Alois Stuppner (Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission) 57 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004), pp. 12–21. Gabriele Isenberg, *Struktur und Topographie der Herrschaft*, (Medieval Europe), 2 (Hertingen: Folio-Verlag, 2002), pp. 15–24. See also Walter Pohl, "Conclusion: The transformation of frontiers," in *The Transformation of Frontiers: From the Late Antiquity to the Carolingians*, eds. Walter Pohl, Ian Wood and Helmut Reimitz, (Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill, 2001), pp. 247–60.
- 27 In archaeological research central places were social and economic units, as settlements of regional or supra-regional rank. They also represented areas of power and prestige concentration, and craft production was present there, as well. This kind of perspective shows a multiplication of their function. Joachim Callmer, "Machtzentren des 10. Jahrhunderts und der Zeit um 1000 in Skandinavien," in *Europa im 10. Jahrhundert: Archäologie einer Aufbruchzeit: Internationale Tagung in Vorbereitung der Ausstellung „Otto der Große, Magdeburg und Europa*, ed. Joachim Henning, (Mainz on the Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2002), p. 77. In this way the role of a central place can also be associated with the occurrence of characteristic elements of the culture of prestige. This aspect is reflected by archaeological research carried out at sites such as Birka and Haithabu, and in places such as Pohansko, Mikulčice, and Breclav. Some 6–10 per cent of these centers have been rich not only in ornaments made of gold but also in such objects as spears and swords. An example of an analogous archaeological site is the graveyard discovered in Espenfeld in the Thuringia region. Burials with weapons were replaced there by massive ornaments. Heiko Steuer, "Mittelalterarchäologie und Sozialgeschichte. Fragestellungen, Ergebnisse

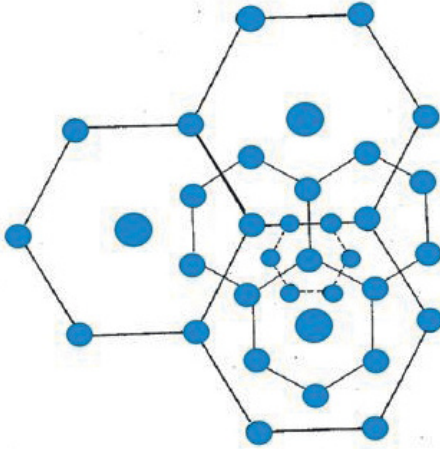


FIGURE 1.8
A model of the central places hierarchy.
After: Stephen Brown, "Central Place
Theory: sixty years on," in *Contemporary
Marketing History: Proceedings of the Sixth
Conference on Historical Research
in Marketing and Marketing Thought, held
May 22–25, 1993 at the
JW Marriott Hotel, Lenox Square*, ed.
Stephen Brown, (Atlanta: Michigan State
University, 1993), fig. 3, p. 73

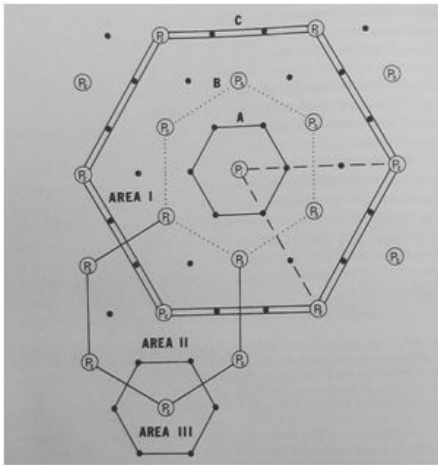


FIGURE 1.9
Walter Christaller's dispersion model
based on the example of market
relationships. After: Edgar A.J. Johnson,
*The Organization of Space in Developing
Countries* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard
University Press, 1970), fig. 4–2, p. 128

und Zukunftsaufgaben," in *Mittelalterarchäologie in Zentraleuropa: zum Wandel und Zielsetzungen*, eds. Günter P. Fehring and Walter Sage, (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1995), p. 91. It seems that in the area of the early Piast state, such centers as Poznań, Ostrów Lednicki, and Giecz had similar significance. Hanna Kočka-Krenz, Michał Kara and Daniel Makowiecki, "The beginnings, development and the character of the early Piast stronghold in Poznań," in *Polish Lands at the Turn of the First and the Second Millennia*, ed. Przemysław Urbańczyk, (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2004), p. 160. The significance of the castle in Libice can be similarly perceived. Jarmila Justova-Princová, "Die Christianisierung der Slawnikendomäne" in *Ibrahim ibn Ya'cub at-Turtushi: Christianity, Islam and Judaism Meet in East-Central Europe c. 800–1300 A.D.: Proceedings of the International Colloquy 25–29 April 1994*, eds. Peter Charvát and Jiří Prosecký, (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 1996), p. 38. Andrzej Buko also commented on the characteristics of the central places. He pointed out the nature of their functioning in the territory of the early Piast state. Andrzej Buko, "Ośrodk

According to Christaller's theory, central places are the elements ordering the structure of a settlement network in space, such as through hierarchization of subordinate areas of higher and lower order. Their interactions—perceived through the prism of the function of the center also decide on how they are deployed in space. Thus, Christaller pointed out the dependencies (and networks of interactions) between the central areas and their immediate settlement bases.²⁸ He also argued that the location of a particular center depends primarily on its function, as well as on the particular distribution of goods and services that results from the center's function. However, Christaller did not take into account the economic relations between central places of different sizes.²⁹ Consequently, he did not introduce a gradation nor diversification of central places, and instead took them as identical and equal.³⁰

Christaller's theory, in spite of initial criticism, has become one of the most important tools for research on settlement and the issues related to delineating economic areas.³¹ The central place theory is extensively used in archaeological studies as well.³² Among those referring to Christaller's theory are the scholars Sławomir Moździoch, Andrzej Buko, Peter Ettel, Eike Gringmuth Dallmer, and

centralne a problem najstarszego patrymonium dynastii Piastów," *Archeologia Polski* 57 (2012), nos. 1–2, 135–45.

- 28 Nurudeen Alao, Michael F. Dacey, Omar Davies, Kenneth G. Denike, James Huff, John B. Parr and M.J. Webber, *Christaller Central Place Structures*, pp. 2–7.
- 29 In this way, central places were also to have a direct impact on the needs of local populations. See Fig. 1.8: A model of the central places hierarchy. Stephen Brown, "Central Place Theory: sixty years on," in *Contemporary Marketing History: Proceedings of the Sixth Conference on Historical Research in Marketing and Marketing Thought, held May 22–25, 1993 at the JW Marriott Hotel, Lenox Square*, ed. Stephen Brown, (Atlanta: Michigan State University, 1993), fig. 3, p. 73. See Edwin von Böventer, "Walter Christaller's central places and peripheral areas: the central place theory in retrospect," *Journal of Regional Science* 9 (1969), 121. See also James H. Bird, "Of central places, cities and seaports," *Geography* 58 (1973), 105–8. Stephan Viljoen, *Economic Systems in World History* (London/New York: Longman, 1974), pp. 88–108.
- 30 In this context, a notion (cited by Philip L. Wagner) of behavioral geography or social geography, which also includes socioeconomic factors may be interesting. Philip L. Wagner, "Underdevelopment: Culture and geography," in *The Underdevelopment of Development: Essays in Honor of Andre Gunder Frank*, eds. Sing C. Chew and Robert A. Denemark, (London/New Delhi: Thousand Oaks, 1996), pp. 102–5. Edgar A.J. Johnson, *The Organization of Space in Developing Countries* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 117–51.
- 31 William W. Hall. James C. Hite, "The use of central place theory and gravity-flow analysis to delineate economic areas," *Southern Journal of Agricultural Economics* 2 (1970), 147.
- 32 E. Siemianowska, "O zastosowaniu niektórych modeli teoretycznych w badaniach nad ośrodkami miejskimi w średniowieczu," 29.

Bernd W. Bahn.³³ No less interesting is the research by Oliver Nakoinz, who summarized the theoretical inquiries concerning the reception of the central place theory in archaeology and highlighted the dynamics of central place processes.³⁴ He distinguished the areas and extent of their interaction, pointed to the periodic expansion and concentration of central functions (considered in chronological terms), and the correlation of the transformations within analyzed settlement structures.³⁵ He also emphasized the importance of interactions between central places and associated social networks.³⁶

The theoretical model of Walter Christaller also referred to the importance of communication and the way that a network is established between the central and hexagonal-forming systems of downstream centers. This was used to highlight the importance of their interaction.³⁷

Of further interest are the ideas of Walter Isard and Charles Cooley. The former summarized theoretical inquiries related to the functioning of the central places and showed how the populations within them were unevenly deployed.³⁸

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- 33 Sławomir Moździoch, "Miejsca centralne Polski wczesnopiastowskiej. Organizacja przestrzeni we wczesnym średniowieczu jako źródło poznania systemu społeczno-gospodarczego," in *Centrum i zaplecze we wczesnośredniowiecznej Europie Środkowej: Spotkania Bytomskie III*, ed. Sławomir Moździoch, (Wrocław: Werk, 1999), pp. 22–5. Andrzej Buko, *The Archeology of Early Medieval Poland: Discoveries, Hypotheses, Interpretations* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 223–317. Eike Gringmuth-Dallmer, "Methodische Überlegungen zur Erforschung zentraler Orte in -ur und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit," in *Centrum i zaplecze we wczesnośredniowiecznej Europie Środkowej*, pp. 9–16. Peter Ettel, "Zentralorte im frühem Mittelalter zwischen Alpen und Ostsee," in *Eine Welt in Bewegung: Unterwegs zu Zentren des frühen Mittelalters*, eds. Georg Eggenstein, Norbert Börste, Helge Zöller and Eva Zahn-Biemüller, (Paderborn: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2008), pp. 16–25. Bernd W. Bahn, "Zur Frage der Zentralität von Landschaften, Orten und Trassen," in *Aedificatio Terrae: Beiträge zur Umwelt- und Siedlungsarchäologie Mitteleuropas: Festschrift für Eike Gringmuth-Dallmer*, eds. Gerson H. Jeute, Jens Schneeweiß and Claudia Theune, (Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2007), pp. 39–43.
- 34 Oliver Nakoinz, "Zentralortforschung und zentralörtliche Theorie," *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 39 (2009), no. 3, 361–75.
- 35 See Evert Meyers, "From central place to network model: theory and evidence of a paradigm change," *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 98 (2007), no. 2, 245–49.
- 36 Oliver Nakoinz, "Models of centrality," *Journal for Ancient Studies* 3 (2012), 217–20. See also Eran Ben-Joseph and David Gordon, "Hexagonal Planning in Theory and Practice," *Journal of Urban Design* 5 (2000), no. 3, 237–39.
- 37 Zbigniew Kobylński, "Podstawowe metody analizy punktowych układów przestrzennych," *Archeologia Polski* 32 (1987), no. 1, 39–40.
- 38 Walter Isard, *Location and Space-economy: A General Theory Relating to Industrial Location, Market Areas, Land Use, Trade and Urban Structure* (New York/London: M. I. T. Press, 1956), pp. 15–27 and 272–73.

TABLE 1.1 The distinct concepts in central places analysis as singled out by Oliver Nakoinz. After: Oliver Nakoinz, "Zentralortforschung und Zentralörtliche Theorie," *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 39 (2009), no. 3, fig. 11, 375

Central place identification	Territories	Hierarchy	Centralization processes	System analysis
Indicators defining central places	Ideal territories: tessellation geographical factors	Monohierarchies: empirical-hierarchical indicators reconstruction of hierarchies	Chronological comparison Indicator size comparison transformational structure	qualitative analysis network analysis
Central functions	Real territories: settlement structure topographic relief cultural space ethnic markers comparison of ideal and real territories comparison of parameters	polihierarchization non-spatial hierarchy hierarchical parameters classification of central places	genesis of territories and central places modelling of diachronic processes	determination of centrality analyses cluster analysis graph analysis system analysis linear systems complex systems

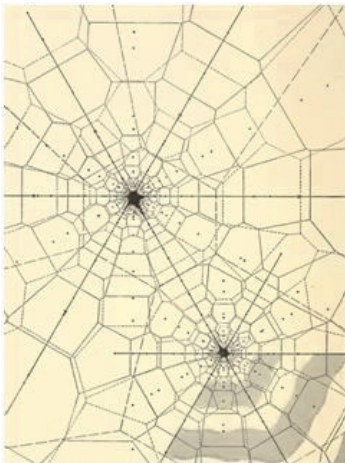


FIGURE 1.10 A modified system consistent with resulting population distribution according to the model created by August Lösch. After: Walter Isard, *Location and Space-economy: A General Theory Relating to Industrial Location, Market Areas, Land Use, Trade and Urban Structure* (New York/London: M.I.T. Press, 1956), fig. 52, p. 272

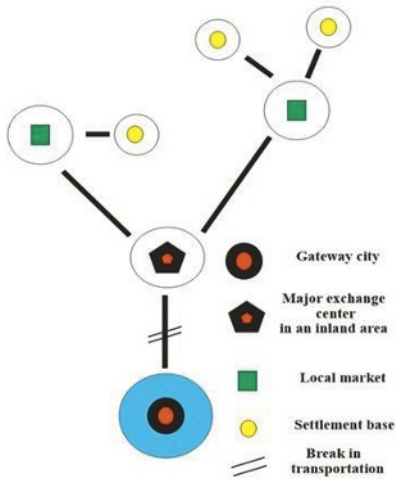


FIGURE 1.11
The economic impact of so-called gateway cities. After: Edgar A.J. Johnson, *The Organization of Space in Developing Countries* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), fig. 3-5, p. 86

The latter created a concept describing the phenomenon of a so-called break in transportation.³⁹ Cooley stressed the importance of natural disruption of the flow of goods at the junctions of different transport zones. It is this break that determined the continuity of trade. A break in transportation was connected in parallel with the functioning of centers known in the literature as so called 'gateway cities'.⁴⁰ This issue was discussed further by Christer Westerdahl, who drew attention to the location of transit points and emphasized the role of coastal areas.⁴¹ He also demonstrated the importance of the communication systems between centers emerging at the borders of junction zones.⁴²

These centers linked the regions involved in the exchange. Their significance can be seen through the functioning of centers such as Quentovic (Frankish emporium), Dorestad (located in the southeast of the province of Utrecht,

39 Charles Cooley, "The theory of transportation," pp. 13-5.

40 Ewelina Siemianowska, "O zastosowaniu niektórych modeli teoretycznych w badaniach nad ośrodkami miejskimi w średniowieczu," 35-7.

41 Christer Westerdahl, "Amphibian transport systems in Northern Europe. A survey of a medieval pattern of life," *Fennoscandia Archaeologica* 13 (1996), 69-81.

42 Christer Westerdahl, "The maritime cultural landscape," *The International Journal of Nautical Archeology* 21 (1992), no. 1, 6-7. Andrew F. Burghardt, "A hypothesis about gateway cities," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61 (1971), 269-85. James Bird, *Centrality and Cities* (London/Henley/Boston: Routledge, 2007), p. 119 (2nd ed.). For issues related to communication and transport, the studies by Albert Leighton are interesting. Albert Leighton, *Transport and Communication in Early Medieval Europe A.D. 500-1100* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1972), pp. 48-152. See also Fig. 1.11 there: The economic impact of so-called gateway cities.



FIGURE 1.12 Boat construction. After: Olaus Magnus, 1555

close to the modern-day town of Wijk bij Duurstede), and Hedeby (emporium, Jutland Peninsula).⁴³ Evidence suggests that Wolin could have also performed a similar function.⁴⁴

As for the regions gradually incorporated into the early Piast state structure in Poland, a nearly analogous function can be assigned to a group of centers forming a kind of ‘settlement islands.’ They played the role of centers which

43 For these centers, see Simon Coupland, “Trading places: Quentovic and Dorestad reassessed,” *Early Medieval Europe* 2 (2002), no. 3, 209–27. See Holger Arbmann, *Schweden und das karolingische Reich: Studien zu den Handelsverbindungen des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Stockholm: Wahlstrom & Widstrand, 1937), pp. 9–25. It is worth emphasizing that such a view refers simultaneously to the hypotheses of Manning Nash. For the significance of these centers in the context of silver depositions, see Manning Nash, “The organization of economic life,” in *Tribal and Peasant Economies: Readings in Economic Anthropology*, ed. George Dalton, (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1967), pp. 7–11. For the significance of these centers in the context of silver hoards, see Simon Coupland, “Raiders, traders, worshippers and settlers: the continental perspective,” in *Silver Economies, Monetisation and Society in Scandinavia A.D. 800–1100*, eds. James Graham-Campbell, Søren M. Sindbæk and Gareth Williams, (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2011), pp. 120–25.

44 Donat Wehner, *Der Frühgeschichtliche Seehandelplatz Wolin und sein Umland* (Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte in Archäologie der Ostseegebiete) 8 (Kiel: Wachholtz, 2008), pp. 45–53.

linked the various territories of the developing monarchy.⁴⁵ Among them were Santok, Kalisz, Kruszwica, Kałdus, Wrocław and Łąd.⁴⁶

It is important to recognize that these centers served various functions simultaneously: economic (also as a consequence of the use of a waterway network), political, and symbolic. All of this accentuated the patrimonial nature of the dynasty.⁴⁷ According to Andrzej Buko, the formation of this group of Piast centers was related to the three-step strategy of building the central

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- 45 For the said process, see Stanisław Kurnatowski, "Jak powstała Wielkopolska," in *Pradzieje Wielkopolski: Od epoki kamienia do średniowiecza*, ed. Michał Kolbusiewicz, (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2008), pp. 52–89.
- 46 For the characteristics of these centers, see Zofia Kurnatowska, *Z Badań nad przemianami organizacji terytorialnej w państwie pierwszych Piastów*, (Studia Lednickie) 2 (Lednica/Poznań: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy, 1991), pp. 17–9. Zofia Kurnatowska, "Gród w Kaliszu na tle grodów piastowskich," in *Kalisz Wczesnośredniowieczny: Materiały sesji Kalisz 15 czerwca 1998*, ed. Tadeusz Baranowski, (Kalisz: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 1998), pp. 5–12. Tadeusz Baranowski, *Kalisz u schyłku starożytności i we wczesnym średniowieczu*, (Spotkania z Kaliszem) 1 (Kalisz: Towarzystwo Miłośników Kalisza, 1987), pp. 29–63. Ewa Stupnicka, "Grodzisko na Zawodziu na tle rozwoju koryta Prosnicy," in *Kalisz Wczesnośredniowieczny*, pp. 29–38. Marek Frąckowiak, "Wczesnośredniowieczny skarb z Zalesia, pow. Słupecki, woj. Wielkopolskie," *Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses* 45 (2009), 238. Wojciech Dzieduszycki, "Społeczno-ekonomiczne uwarunkowania powiązań Pomorza z Kujawami we wczesnym średniowieczu," *Slavia Antiqua* 33 (1991/1992), 43–53. Sławomir Moździoch, "Nowe dane do zagadnienia socjotopografii piastowskich grodów kasztelańskich w X–XIII wieku na przykładzie Wrocławia i Bytomia Odrzańskiego na Śląsku," in *Osadnictwo i architektura ziem polskich w dobie Zjazdu Gnieźnieńskiego*, eds. Andrzej Buko and Zygmunta Świechowski, (Warsaw: Letter Quality, 2000), pp. 332–53. Sławomir Moździoch, *Funkcje gospodarcze śląskich grodów kasztelańskich w państwie wczesnopiastowskim* (Studia Lednickie) 2, pp. 23–42. Jacek Bojarski, Wojciech Chudziak, Marcin Weinkauff, "Z badań nad wczesnośredniowiecznym zespołem osadniczym w Kałdusie na Pomorzu Nadwiślańskim," in *Stan i potrzeby badań nad wczesnym średniowieczem w Polsce-15 lat później*, eds. Wojciech Chudziak and Sławomir Moździoch, (Toruń/Wrocław/Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2006), pp. 371–75.
- 47 See Michał Kara, "Historiografia i archeologia polska o mechanizmach formowania się władztwa Piastów. Próba zestawienia ważniejszych poglądów," in *Instytucja wczesnego państwa w perspektywie wielości i różnorodności kultur*, eds. Jacek Banaszkiewicz, Michał Kara and Henryk Mamzer, (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2015), pp. 304–12. See also Przemysław Sikora, "Die Anfänge der Zentralisierungsprozesse im frühen Mittelalter in Polen," in *Zentralisierungsprozesse und Herrschaftsbildung im frühmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa: Studien zur Archäologie Europas*, ed. Przemysław Sikora, (Bonn: Habelt, 2014), pp. 127–50.

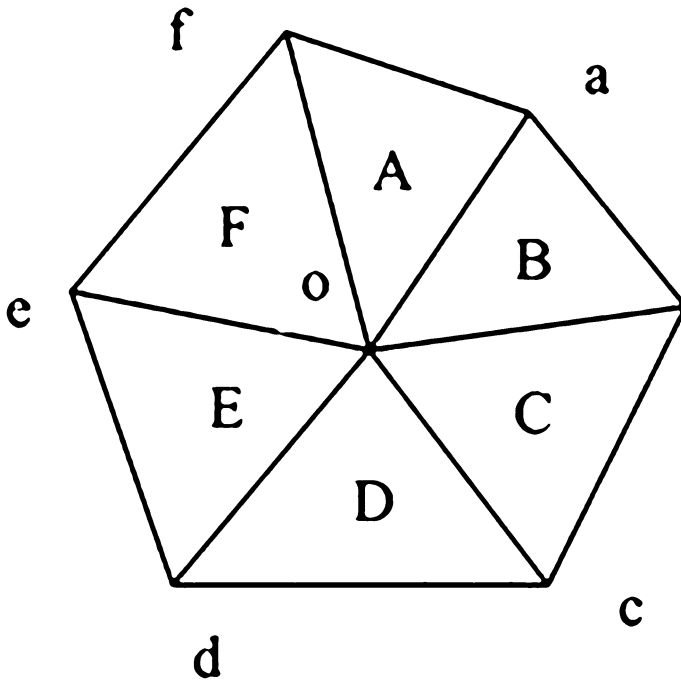


FIGURE 1.13 Thiessen polygon. After: Zbigniew Kobyliński, “Podstawowe metody analizy punktowych układów przestrzennych,” *Archeologia Polski* 32 (1987), no. 1, fig. 10B, 40

places.⁴⁸ As for its theoretical background, this kind of perspective is an implementation of the Thiessen polygons pattern, while appealing to the gateway city economic impact scheme.⁴⁹

In the context of scholarship on important centers acting as gateway cities there is a special emphasis not only on the emergence of characteristic transfer infrastructure, but also on the concentration of people involved in transport of goods (i.e. merchants).⁵⁰ Such a relationship also corresponds to the settlement and economic relations observed by Helena Hamerow in *vics* in

48 Andrzej Buko, “Najstarsze ośrodki Piastów w świetle danych archeologii,” in *Institucja wczesnego państwa w perspektywie wielości i różnorodności kultur*, pp. 344–49.

49 See Fig. 1.13: Thiessen polygon. For a settlement network displayed in the form of Thiessen polygons and stable configuration, see Zbigniew Kobyliński, “Podstawowe metody analizy punktowych układów przestrzennych,” *Archeologia Polski* 32 (1987), no. 1, fig. 10B, 40.

50 Ewelina Siemianowska, “O zastosowaniu niektórych modeli teoretycznych w badaniach nad ośrodkami miejskimi w średniowieczu,” 38.

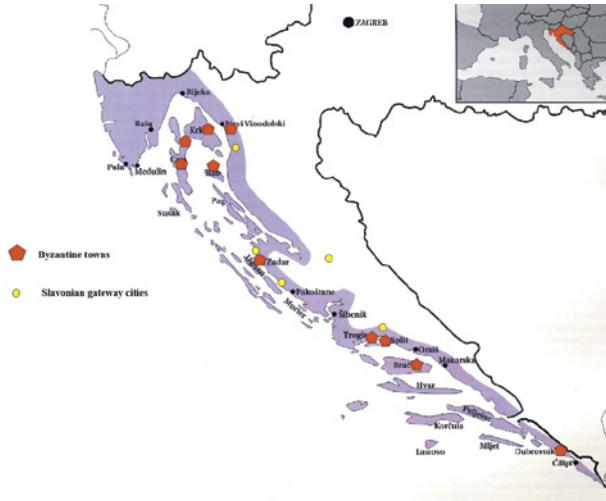


FIGURE 1.14 Byzantine towns and Slavonian gateway cities in the Dalmatian area. After: Neven Budak, “Early medieval boundaries in Dalmatia/Croatia (8th–11th centuries),” in *Castellum, Civitas, Urbs: Zentren und eliten im frühmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa: Castellum Panonicum Pelsonense*, eds. Orsolya Heinrich-Tamańska, Hajnalka Herold, Péter Straub and Tivadar Vida, (Budapest/Leipzig/Keszthely/Rahden/Westfalen: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2015), p. 37

the Viking period.⁵¹ As it seems, the group of centers located off the Dalmatian coast had a similar significance. Their function was discussed by Neven Budak.⁵² These places remained the recipients of goods for the Byzantine centers (understood as the ‘ports of trade’), acting simultaneously as gateway cities. In this way, these centers also connected interregional trade nodes with important local places.

These theoretical concepts pointed not only to the importance of the junction itself, but also to a number of communication-related issues. They were

51 Helena Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements: The Archaeology of Rural Communities in North-West Europe 400–900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 138.

52 Neven Budak, “Early medieval boundaries in Dalmatia/Croatia (8th–11th centuries),” in *Castellum, Civitas, Urbs: Zentren und Eliten im frühmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa: Castellum Panonicum Pelsonense*, eds. Orsolya Heinrich-Tamańska, Hajnalka Herold, Péter Straub and Tivadar Vida, (Budapest/Leipzig/Keszthely/Rahden/Westfalen: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2015), pp. 35–42.



FIGURE 1.15 Trade without money-Olaus Magnus, 1555

also related to a set of socioeconomic phenomena indicating both the nature of the settlement within these centers and their associated transformations. Moreover, these theories have gained importance in modern archaeological research and studies concerning the origins of urban centers.⁵³

1.3 Substantivism and Formalism: a Dispute over the Importance of Economic Phenomena in the Past

Considerable scholarly achievements have resulted from different ways of perceiving historical economic phenomena, leading to a separate area of research.⁵⁴ Some heavily influential scholars on this issue are Karl Polanyi, Max Weber, Maurice Godelier, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Harold Schneider.⁵⁵ On theoretical grounds, they referred not only to the impact of market mechanisms,

53 See Juan A. Barceló, Giuliano Pelfer and Alessandro Mandolesi, "The origins of the city: from social theory to archeological description," *Archeologia e Calcolatori* 13 (2002), 41–52.

54 The dispute between substantivists and formalists was discussed in synthesizing terms by Nils Ringstedt, *Household Economy and Archeology: Some Aspects of Theory and Applications*, (Stockholm Studies in Archeology) 12 (Stockholm: Akademietryck, 1992), pp. 19–23. For further literature, see there.

55 Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg and Harry W. Pearson, "The place of economics in societies," in *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory*,



FIGURE 1.16 Joseph sold by his brothers, Herrad of Landsberg, ca. 1180

but also to the importance of their associated sociocultural transformations.⁵⁶ They also pointed out the distinct differences in the way these phenomena were interpreted: on the one hand referring to the economic rationalism and a kind of ‘inevitability of observed market processes,’ and on the other arguing for non-economic mechanisms ruling the old communities.⁵⁷

In theoretical terms they also defined concepts such as market, trade, money, gift, and reciprocity. This point of view was connected to the institutional aspects of the functioning of markets as well.⁵⁸

This current of thought is the foundation of the controversy between formalists and substantivists, which dates back to the 1960s, and is primarily focused on the various ways of perceiving historic economic systems. During these polemics it was pointed out that there were non-market objectives in the use of economic resources, and that economic rationalism underlies the managing of ancient communities. Attention was also paid to the continuation of the observed transformations.⁵⁹

pp. 277–96. M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, pp. 179–95. Harold K. Schneider, *Economic Man: The Anthropology of Economics* (London: Free Press, 1974).

56 Nils Ringstedt, *Household Economy and Archaeology*, pp. 19–20. See also Harry W. Pearson, “The secular debate on economic primitivism,” in *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory*, pp. 3–10. See Jean-Michele Servet, “Toward alternative economy: reconsidering the market, money and value,” in *Market and Society: The Great Transformation Today*, eds. Chris Hann and Keith Hart, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 75.

57 Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1957), pp. 20–3.

58 Stephen Gudeman, *Economics as Culture: Models and Metaphors of Livelihood* (London/Boston/Henley: Routledge& Kegan Paul, 1986), pp. 12–3.

59 The issue of defining economic processes in the substantivist approach was discussed by Terence Hopkins. See Terence. K. Hopkins, “Sociology and the substantive view of the



FIGURE 1.17
Merchant, Herrad of Landsberg, ca. 1180

The interweaving of economics and religious (i.e. non-economic) thinking in the past was important as well.⁶⁰ This kind of perspective determined a way of interpreting the phenomena analysed. In the ongoing debate, the process of transposing today's observed (and described) economic phenomena into that of the past was signaled, while the differences between the present and the past were defined concerning economic organization and in how various types of farming are distinguished.⁶¹ Also evident here is the expressed rationalization of economic behavior among ancient communities.⁶² According to John Richard Hicks, it is connected with the genesis of a market as a socioeconomic phenomenon, an aspect also discussed by Jens Beckert.⁶³

economy," in *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory*, pp. 293–97.

- 60 Jacek Wrzesiński, "Gromadne znaleziska monet świadectwem ofiary sakralnej," in *Moneta Mediaevalis: Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi S. Suchodolskiemu w 65 rocznicę urodzin*, pp. 123–26. See also Karolina Czosntke, "Biżuteria słowiańska z wczesnośredniowiecznych skarbów bornholmskich," *Materiały Zachodniopomorskie: Nowa Seria* 6/7 (2009/2010), no. 1, 157–202. See Michał Janik, "Pojęcie własności a problem powstania skarbów srebrnych na Pomorzu w XI–XII wieku," *Scripta Historica* 21 (2015), 25–9. Jacek Kowalewski, "Praktyka deponowania skarbów w świetle zasad waloryzacji kruszcu srebrnego w słowiańskich społecznościach tradycyjnych wczesnego średniowiecza," *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici: Archeologia* 30 (2006), no. 379, 52–66. Marcel Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, trans. Robert Brain (Florence: Taylor and Francis, 2005), pp. 22–55.
- 61 Nils Ringstedt, *Household Economy and Archaeology*, p. 19. Maurice Godelier, *Rationality and Irrationality in Economics*, trans. Brian Pearce, (New York/London: Monthly Review Press, 1972), pp. 13–25.
- 62 Karl Polanyi, *The Livelihood of Man*, ed. Harry W. Pearson, (London: ACADEMIC Press, 1977), pp. 12–4.
- 63 John R. Hicks, *Teoria historii gospodarczej* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2000), pp. 37–54. Jens Beckert, *Beyond the Market: The Social Foundations of Economic Efficiency*, trans. Barry Harshav, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 7–50.



FIGURE 1.18A
'10 silver marks': hoard from Spillings
SOURCE: WIKIMEDIA COMMONS
LICENSE



FIGURE 1.18B
Silver melted into bars: silver hoard
from Spillings
SOURCE: WIKIMEDIA COMMONS
LICENSE

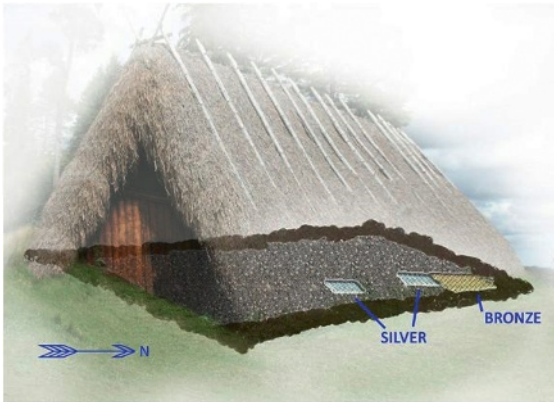


FIGURE 1.19 A representation of the Viking house where the three caches of the Spillings hoard were found-by W. Carter
SOURCE: WIKIMEDIA COMMONS LICENSE



FIGURE 1.20A
Helgö: Buddha statuette



FIGURE 1.20B
Helgö: Egyptian Coptic scoop



FIGURE 1.21
Deposition from Nørremølle. After: Gitte Ingvardson, “Nørremølle—the largest viking age silver hoard of Bornholm,” *Journal of Archaeological Numismatics* 2 (2012), fig. 1, 283

The beginning of the debate between formalists and substantivists can be traced back to the work of the Polish anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski. In his research, he analysed patterns of exchange among the people of the Trobriand Islands, drawing attention to non-economic mechanisms in an economy based on gift-giving, prestige and reciprocity, describing the symbolic meaning of the objects of trade and the purpose of trading expeditions.⁶⁴ He

64 Bronisław Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 114–21 (reprinted, first published in 1922).



FIGURE 1.22
Merchant, Herrad of Landsberg, ca. 1180

also found it important to highlight how traditional communities functioned economically. In this context, the most interesting is the perspective proposed by Melville J. Herskovits.⁶⁵ He stressed the importance of shortages as a universal determinant of economic activities and also pointed to the significance of ceremonially transferred goods.⁶⁶

The Austro-Hungarian historian Karl Polanyi held different views: he defined the economy as a form of institutionalized processes leading to the emergence of a network of human-environment interactions, while distinguishing three main types of ‘integration’, namely reciprocity, redistribution, and exchange.⁶⁷

These views were continued by the successors of Karl Polanyi, such as George Dalton and Rhoda H. Halperin. The works of Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood are also interesting in the context of the dispute between substantivists and formalists.⁶⁸ In particular, they pointed out not only the problem of social determinants of the consumption of goods and the importance of their material dimension, but also the periodical character of observed phenomena. Marshall Sahlins took a similar approach, referring not only to the problem of reciprocity and relationships, but also to such concepts as wealth and transfer of productive goods.⁶⁹

65 Melville J. Herskovits, *Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952).

66 Melville J. Herskovits, *Economic Anthropology*, pp. 18–9.

67 Karl Polanyi, *The Economy as Instituted Process*, pp. 269–70.

68 George Dalton, “Primitive money,” in *Tribal and Peasant Economies: Readings in Economic Anthropology*, pp. 254–81. George Dalton, “Economics, economic development and economic anthropology,” *Journal of Economic Issues* 2 (1968), no. 2, 173–4. Rhoda H. Halperin, *Economies Across Cultures: Towards a Comparative Science of the Economy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988). Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (London/New York: Psychology Press, 1996).

69 Marshall Sahlins, “Socjologia wymiany w społeczeństwach pierwotnych,” in *Współczesne teorie wymiany społecznej*, eds. Marian Kempny and Jacek Szmataka, (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1992), pp. 132–143 and pp. 161–67.

These views largely determine how to interpret the phenomena observed in the source material and point to relations between the symbolic sphere and economic phenomena. Despite the passage of time and a number of studies (especially those in archaeology), it remains a subject of debate among the proponents of both concepts.

Trade in the Period from the 10th to the 12th Centuries: Merchants during the Early and High Middle Ages

2.1 Who Are the Merchants?

In Latin sources we find different expressions for people who made their living by commerce. The reasons for that diversity were various: one was the need to distinguish the local traders from the merchants involved in long-distance exchanges, another was to indicate the mode of transport or the type of goods they delivered. Moreover, distinct terms were used to express the particular specializations of the *negotiatores*¹ accordingly, the merchants' names were

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- 1 Dariusz Adamczyk, "Fernhandelsemporien, Herrschaftszentren, Regional- und Lokalmärkte: die ökonomischen Funktionen von Silber oder wie lässt sich der Grad der Monetarisierung in den frühmittelalterlichen Gesellschaften des Ostseeraums 'messen'?", in *Economies, Monetisation and the Society in the West Slavic Lands 800–1200 A.D.*, eds. Michał Bogacki and Marian Rębkowski, (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2013), p. 117. Dariusz Adamczyk, *Silber und Macht: Fernhandel, Tribute und piastische Herrschaftsbildung in nordeuropäischer Perspektive (800–1100)*, (Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau Quellen und Studien) 28 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), p. 22. Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), pp. 236–42. Rolf Sprandel, "Handel und Gewerbe vom 6–11. Jahrhundert." in *Gilden und Zünfte: Kaufmännische und gewerbliche Genossenschaften im frühen und hohen Mittelalter*, ed. Bernd Schwinköper, (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1985), p. 28. Jarmila Čiháková and Jan Zavřel, "Das Itinerar Ibrahim ibn Jakubs und die neuen archäologischen Entdeckungen auf der Kleinseite," in *Ibrahim ibn Ya'cub at-Turtushi: Christianity, Islam and Judaism Meet in East-Central Europe c. 800–1300 A.D.*, p. 68. Hans-Jürgen Brachmann, "Der Markt als Keimform der mittelalterlichen Stadt- Überlegungen zu ihrer Genese im ostfränkischen Reich," in *Frühgeschichte der Europäischen Stadt: Voraussetzungen und Grundlagen*, eds. Hans-Jürgen Brachmann and Joachim Herrmann, (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1991), p. 121. Hans-Peter Bruchhäuser, *Kaufmansbildung im Mittelalter: Determinanten des Curriculums deutscher Kaufleute im Spiegel der Formalisierung von Qualifizierungsprozessen* (Cologne/Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1989), p. 9. Robert S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages 950–1350* (London/New York/Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 87. Heribert R. Brenning, *Der Kaufmann im Mittelalter: Literatur, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft*, (Bibliothek der Historischen Forschung) 5 (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1993), pp. 32–40. See also Aron J. Guriewicz, "Kupiec," in: *Człowiek Średniowiecza*, ed. Jacques Le Goff, trans. Maria Radożycka-Paoletti, (Warsaw/Gdańsk: Świat Książki, 1996), pp. 303–23. Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1933), pp. 164–65. Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-cultural Trade in the History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 5–11. Jean Favier, *Gold und Gewürze: Der Aufstieg des*

coined based on to whom their commodities were transported (i.a. *negotiatores abbatiae*²), on the type of the merchandise itself (*venditores gladiatorum*,³ *venditores pabuli*⁴), or on the geographical area of origin.⁵ Ethnonyms were also repeatedly used to single out different participants in trade.⁶ Naming their nationalities indicated the amount of customs duties levied on goods transported by groups of merchants participating in inter-regional exchange. This,

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- Kaufmanns im Mittelalter* (Hanover: Junius Verlag, 1992), pp. 24–5. Mateusz Bogucki, “Między wagą a mieczem. Kupcy wikińscy w świetle źródeł pisanych i archeologicznych,” *Pruthenia* 5 (2010), 17–21. Søren M Sindbæk, “The Small World of the Vikings Networks in Early Medieval Communication and Exchange,” *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 40 (2007), 60–61. See also Klaus Randsborg, “The town, the power and the land: Denmark and Europe during the first millennium A.D.,” in *Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archeology*, ed. Timothy C. Champion, (London/New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 211–25.
- 2 *Die Urkunden der Deutschen Könige und Kaiser, Die Urkunden Ottos III*, ed. Theodor Sickel, MGH Diplomata 2 (1893), no. 237, p. 655 (hereafter cited as DD O III).
 - 3 A mention in one of Henry IV’s documents may serve as an example. In the diploma issued in Mainz on June 5, 1104, the monarch confirmed the amounts due in the form of duties in Koblenz. “*De Treueris venientes debent dare IIIor denarios et duas denarias vini. De Mettis venientes debent dare VIII denarios et II denarias vini, de Tullo similiter. De unoquoque somario dantur IIIor denarii, de sclavo empticio IIIor denarii. Venditores gladiatorum debent dare Xnum gladium.*” *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, ed. Dietrich von Gladiss, MGH Diplomata, 6.2 (1959), no. 487, p. 664 (hereafter cited as DD H IV).
 - 4 “*Venditores pabuli, si quando imperator intraverit, in quartali nummos duos lucrari permittimus.*” *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Friedrichs I*, eds. Heinrich Appelt, Reiner M. Herkenrath and Walter Koch, MGH Diplomata 10.2 (1979), no. 447, p. 348 (hereafter cited as DD F I).
 - 5 Such references should primarily be associated with the category of luxury goods whose origin was to reflect the high quality of the goods. One example is the reports of extremely valuable fabrics, which were termed *pallia Fresonica*. “*Porro autem imperatori Persarum direxit indefessus augustus equos et mulos Hispanos, pallia Fresonica alba, cana, vermiculata vel saphirina, que in illis partibus rara et multum cara comperit, canes quoque agilitate et ferocia singulares, quales ipse prius ad capiendos vel propellendos leones et trigrides postulavit.*” Notker der Stammler, *Taten Kaiser Karls des Grossen*, ed. Hans F. Haefele, MGH, Src. Rer Germ. Ns 12 (1959), c. 9, p. 63.
 - 6 “*Idcirco notum esse volumus omnibus fidelibus sanctae dei aecclesie nostrisque scilicet presentibus et futuris, quia vir venerabilis Richgouuo sanctae Uuangrionensis aecclesiae episcopus detulit nobis precepta in quibus continebatur, qualiter antecessores nostri, reges videlicet et imperatores Francorum, concessissent ut, quancumque negotiatores vel artifices seu et Frisiones apud Uuangionem civitatem advenissent, omne theloneum undecumque fiscus theloneum exigere poterat, ad integrum per eorum auctoritates eidem aecclesiae concessissent.*” *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Ottos I*, ed. Theodor Sieckel, MGH Diplomata, 1 (1879–1884), no. 84, p. 165 (hereafter cited as DD O I).

in turn, helped to determine the amounts due from “all other merchants”, *ceteri mercatores/negotiatores*.⁷

This last distinction can be associated with the functioning of the licensed market monopolies network, within which both the range and the scope of trade were determined.⁸ Thus, according to Richard Hodges, market centers (treated as the central places) performed not only economic, but also political and administrative functions, while also manifesting the ruler’s power.⁹ Support of the market centers (as a consequence of the commemorative dimension, i.e. prayer obligations flowing out of the document)¹⁰ coupled

7 “*Mercatores, id est Iudei et ceteri mercatores, undecunq̄ue venerint de ista patria vel de aliis patriis, iustum theloneum solvant tam de mancipiis, quam de aliis rebus, sicut semper in prioribus temporibus regum fuit.*” “Additamenta ad capitularia Regum Franciae Orientalis,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, eds. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause, MGH Capit. 2 (1897), no. 253, §9, p. 252. “*et ad quascunq̄ue civitates, castella aut portus vel cetera loca ipse naves vel homines eas praevidentes vel ceteri negotiatores ipsius monasterii necessitates providentes accessum habuerint, ullum teloneum et cetera.*” “Formulae imperialis. Praeceptum de navibus.” In *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, ed. Karl Zeumer, MGH LL 1 (1886), no. 24, p. 304. The said form was most often used to determine the amounts due from Jewish merchants “and all other merchants”. Subsequently, an analogous formula applied to traders coming from the expanding economic area of Flanders. “*Finitis singulis quattuordecim diebus, Flandrenses et ceteri mercatores postmodum quieti maneat per alios quattuordecim dies, nichil de pannis suis vendentes.*” “Conventio cum comite Flandriae: De mercatoribus et de moneta. Friderici I. constitutiones,” in *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum (911–1197)*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH Const. 1.1 (1893), no. 239, p. 334.

8 Rolf Sprandel, “Handel und Gewerbe vom 6–11. Jahrhundert”, p. 27. Johannes Fried, “Kunst und Kommerz: Über das Zusammenwirken von Wissenschaft und Wirtschaft im Mittelalter vornehmlich am Beispiel der Kaufleute und Handelsmessen,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 255 (1992), no. 2, 285–86.

9 Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economies: The Origins of Towns and Trade A.D. 600–1000* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1982), pp. 172–73.

10 On the importance of *memoria* and the commemorative practices found in the Ottos’ documents, see Gerd Althoff, “Beobachtungen zum liudolfingisch-ottonischen Gedenkwesen,” *Münstersche Mittelalterschriften* 48 (1984), 651–52. On the subject of *memoria*, see also Karl Schmidt, “Die Sorge der Salier um ihre Memoria. Zeugnisse, Erwägungen und Fragen,” *Münstersche Mittelalterschriften* 48 (1984), 668–89. Eckhard Freise, “Kalendarische und annalistische Grundformen der Memoria,” *Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften* 48 (1984), 443–44. Otto G. Oexle, “Memoria und Memorialbild,” *Münstersche Mittelalterschriften* 48 (1984), 384–87. Karl Leyser, “The German aristocracy from the ninth to the twelfth century. A historical and cultural sketch,” *Past and Present* 41 (1968), 34. Gerd Althoff, Joachim Wollasch, “Bleiben libri memoriales stumm? Eine Erwiderung auf H. Hoffmann,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 56 (2000), 33–50. Joachim Wollasch, “Die mittelalterliche Lebensform der Verbrüderung,” *Münstersche Mittelalterschriften* 48 (1984), 215.

with the restrictions placed on competitors, were the guarantee of the continuous exchange.¹¹

Special attention is drawn primarily to the privileges issued for the abbey of Saint Maurice in Magdeburg¹² and the abbey of Saint Servatius in Quedlinburg.¹³ The latter was erected as the royal market foundation and constituted a direct economic base for the Ottonian family monastery, founded in 936. Presumably up to 994, this monastery was supplied by groups of traveling merchants whom the sources defined as *mercatores itinerantes, transeuntes, euntes et redeuntes*.¹⁴

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- 11 Herbert Heaton, *Economic History of Europe* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), p. 144. Heiko Steuer, "Der Handel der Wikingerzeit zwischen Nord- und Westeuropa aufgrund archäologischer Zeugnisse," in *Der Handel Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit: Bericht über die Kolloquien der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas in den Jahren 1980 bis 1983*, eds. Klaus Düwel, Herbert Jankuhn, Harald Siems and Dieter Timpe, (Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa), 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), pp. 193–95. See also Shepard B. Clough and Charles W. Cole, *The Economic History of Europe* (Boston: D.C. Heath & Company, 1952), pp. 50–2. See *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, ed. Tadija Smičiklas, 2 (Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke Tisare, 1904), no. 4, pp. 5–7 (hereafter cited as *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*). *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, 2, no. 16, p. 19. *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, 2, no. 26, p. 29. The importance of maintaining the market monopoly network can be deduced from Helmold's Chronicle, where it testifies to an increase in the economic importance of Old-Lübeck. *Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis cronica Slavorum*, ed. Bernhard Schmeidler, MGH Ss rer. Germ. N. S (1937), lib. I, c. 71, p. 137 (hereafter cited as Helmold).
- 12 DD O I, no. 46, p. 131. DD O I, no. 216, pp. 298–99. DD O I, no. 299, p. 415. DD O I, no. 300, pp. 415–16. DD O I, no. 301, p. 416. DD O I, no. 312, pp. 426–27. *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Ottos II*, ed. Theodor Sickel, MGH Diplomata 2 (1893), no. 18, p. 26 (hereafter cited as DD O II). DD O II, no. 29, p. 38. DD O II, no. 30, p. 39. DD O II, no. 112, pp. 126–27. DD O II, no. 198, p. 225. DD O III, no. 10, p. 406. DD O III, no. 34, p. 433.
- 13 In a document of Otto III issued on November 23, 994, the monarch granted to the convent of Saint Servatius the right to organize the market and indicated the area of exclusivity of the market law. *Die Urkunden Ottos III*, no. 155, pp. 566–67. On the importance of creating the market monopoly network, see Paul Grimm, "Zu ottonischen Märkten im westlichen Mittelelbe- und Saalgebiet," in *Vor und Frühformen der europäischen Stadt im Mittelalter: Bericht über ein Symposium in Reinhausen bei Göttingen in der Zeit vom 18 bis 24 April 1972*, eds. Herbert Jankuhn, Walter Schlesinger and Heiko Steuer, (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse), 1. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), p. 332.
- 14 Fritz Röhrig, "Powstanie Magdeburga. Starsza historia handlu," *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensis: Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Feier des 250 jährigen Bestehen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950), p. 30.

Their presence can be associated with the institution of the “wandering market”,¹⁵ providing the continuous incomes of monastic centers necessary for their operation, derived from trade monopoly and mandatory commercial stations.¹⁶ As it seems, similar meaning should be ascribed to the imperial documents as underwriting the merchants’ goods monopoly within the *gau*, or even throughout the whole *regnum*.¹⁷

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- 15 These groups of merchants since the time of Louis the Pious also received numerous special waybills, guaranteeing them the possibility of free trade throughout the *regnum*. In return, the merchants were required to pay a fee of ten libras of gold. This is evidenced by letters of protection issued to Domatus and his nephew Samuel, to David, Joseph and the merchant who accompanied them, and to Abraham of Saragossa. “*Omnibus episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, gastaldis, vicariis, centenariis, clusariis seu etiam missis nostris discurrentibus necnon et omnibus fidelibus nostris, praesentibus scilicet et futuris, notum sit, quia istos Hebreos, Domatum rabbi et Samuelem, nepotem eius, sub nostra defensione suscepimus ac retinemus.*” “*Formulae imperiales,*” in *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. Karl Zeumer, MGH LL 1 (1886), no. 30, p. 309 (hereafter cited as *Formulae imperiales*). “*Omnibus episcopis et cetera notum sit, quia hos praesentes Hebreos, David, nunnum davitis, et Ioseph atque.... Cum pares eorum, habitantes in Lugduno civitate, sub nostra defensione suscepimus ac retinemus.*” *Formulae imperiales*, no. 31, p. 310. “*Omnibus episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, vicariis, centenariis seu ceteris ministerialibus nostris notum sit, quia iste Hebreus nomine Abraham, habitans in civitate Cesaraugusta, ad nostram veniens praesentiam, in manibus nostris se commendavit, et eum sub sermone tuitionis nostrae recepimus ac retinemus.*” *Formulae imperiales*, no. 52, p. 325. Later actions of rulers were aimed at inclining merchants to live in the centers that were being transformed into their permanent settlements. No less interesting are land allocations within urban centers, such as Otto II’s donation to Baribertus, a merchant from Verona. DD O II, no. 312, pp. 368–69.
- 16 Andreas Eichstaedt, *Der Zöllner und seine Arbeitsweise im Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des öffentlichen Dienstrechts* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Rechtswissenschaft), 271 (Frankfurt on the Main/Bern: Lang, 1981), pp. 26–32. Dietrich Denecke, “*Straße und Weg im Mittelalter als Lebensraum und Vermittler zwischen entfernten Orten,*” in *Mensch und Umwelt im Mittelalter*, ed. Bernd Herrmann, (Stuttgart: Fourier, 1986), p. 211. Johannes Fried, “*Die Frankfurter Messe im Spiegel des Zitats,*” in *Die Frankfurter Messe: Besucher und Bewunderer: Literarische Zeugnisse aus ihren ersten acht Jahrhunderten*, eds. Johannes Fried and Hartmut Boockmann, (Frankfurt on the Main: Brönners Druckerei Breidenstein, 1990), pp. 11–12.
- 17 The scope of trade was determined both as a result of the designation of a network of licensed market centers and by the granting of a monopoly of goods to a specified group of merchants. A diploma issued by Otto II on March 19, 977 for a church in Minden, transferring to it the income from a meat market is one example. DD O II, no. 147, p. 165. Similar regulations occur in a document of Otto III issued on June 15, 983 in Verona, in which the monarch granted the customs duties from the market in Liège to the local Bishop Notker. Among the commodities traded at the market in Visé, animals, iron, ores, and clothing were listed. DD O III, no. 308, 365. The exemption from the obligation to pay custom duties was also a form of privileging the inhabitants of the bishopric. DD O III, no. 41, pp. 440–41. In turn, in a document issued by Henry III on May 1, 1047 in Mantua, the monarch allowed the residents of Scalvetales to trade in iron and other goods throughout

It is worth stressing that in many instances when this monopoly was broken up it was due to the intervention of the ruler. In this way one can interpret Arnulf of Carinthia's (c. 850–899) letter to Laodimir, the ruler of the Bulgarians,¹⁸ in which the king of East Francia asked him not to trade salt with the inhabitants of the borderlands of Bavaria and Moravia, and also the restrictions in place since the time of Charles the Great (748–814) associated with the sale of horses and weapons outside the *regnum*.¹⁹ Another example of the same kind is a later text, Petrus Candianus's (872–939) letter to Henry I (876–936), in which the Venetian Doge suggested, among other things, the possibility of imposing on Jewish merchants a ban on trade in metals and decorative fabrics, thus leading to a substantial restriction of competition.²⁰ It is worth

the empire up to Mount Bardone and Kreuzberg, while exempting them from an annual custom duties of one thousand pounds of iron. In this way, he not only stimulated the increase in trade, but also indicated the privileged position of the Scalvedtales merchants. *“Noverit omnium sancte dei ecclesie nostrorumque presentium scilicet ac futurorum fidelium sagacitas, quomodo nos pro dei amore nostreque remedio anime per nostram preceptalem paginam concessimus atque, prout iuste et legaliter potuimus, largiti sumus omnibus hominibus in Monte Scalfi habitantibus facultatem et largitionem negociandi et eorum ferum vel quicquid voluerint per vastitudinem nostri imperii vendendi usque Montem Cruciam et Montem Bardonem absque alicuius mortalis hominis contradictione vel molestacione sive etiam alicuius publice functionis redibitione preter libras mille ferri, quas in nostra regali curte Dervi vocata per condicionem et secundum suorum priscorum parentum vel decessorum morem et consuetudinem hactenus dederunt ac dehinc annuatim dare debent.”* *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Heinrichs III*, eds. Harry Bresslau and Paul Kehr, MGH Diplomata 5 (1931), no. 199, pp. 256–57 (hereafter cited as DD H 111).

18 *“Missos etiam suos inde ad Bulgaros et regem eorum Laodimir ad renovandam pristinam pacem cum muneribus mense Septembrio transmisit et, ne coemptio salis inde Maravanis daretur, exposcit.”* “Annalium Fuldensium continuatio Ratisbonensis A. 882–897,” in *Annales Fuldenses sive annales regni Francorum Orientalis*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH Ss rer. Germ. in usum scholarum 7 (1891), a. 892, p. 121.

19 *“Ut, quoniam in praefatis capitulis continetur in libro tertio, capitulo LXXV, ‘ut nullus sine permissu regio bruniam vel arma extraneo dare aut vendere praesumat’, et in eodem libro capitulo VI designata sunt loca regni, usque ad quae negotiatores ‘brunias et arma ad venundandum portare et vendere debeant; quod si inventi fuerint ultra portantes aut venundantes, ut omnis substantia eorum auferatur ab eis, dimidia quidem pars partibus palatii, alia vero medietas inter missos regios et inventorem dividatur’; quia peccatis nostris exigentibus in nostra vicinia Nortmanni deveniunt et eis a nostris bruniae et arma atque caballi aut pro redemptione dantur aut pro pretii cupiditate venundantur.”* “Edictum Pistense a. 864,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, eds. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause, MGH Capit. 2 (1897), no. 273, §25, p. 321 (hereafter cited as Edictum Pistense).

20 *“Inde vero Hierosolimitanus patriarcha suas literas et legatum suum Constantinopolim ad Romanum direxit imperatorem et omnia innotuit, quae deus ostendere dignatus est, commonendo, ut sicut Ierosolima omnes Iudei christiani facti sunt, ita et in suum imperium omnes Iudeos ad Christi fidem converteret. Quod vero ipse imperator (audiens) omnes Iudeos baptizari iussit, et ipsi Hebraei mirabilia dei audientes spontanea voluntate crediderunt et*

noting that protection of the fair monopoly was not only associated with the desire to set a fixed number of commercial centers and parallel control of what was traded, but it also led to a clear concentration of exchange, depending on changes in the internal demand in the central areas.²¹ It was also important to indicate regular market days,²² which made it possible to supervise the network of redistribution of goods.²³ It should also be noted that the operation of commercial sites was sanctioned by the ruler, who, in addition to licensing the opening of a fair, also repeatedly gave the right to mint the coins.²⁴

Such activities in post-Carolingian Europe stimulated the development of trade and secured the flow of particular categories of goods. They also

baptizati sunt. Qua de re obsecramus magnitudinem vestram, ut haec mirabilia domini nostri Iesu Christi omnibus Hebreis nuntietis et baptizari eos precipiatis. Si quis vero Hebreus baptizari noluerit, precipite, ut signum crucis in nullo metallo nec in ullo drappo aut aliqua spetie in vestro regno suis pollutis manibus contingat, et ipse Hebreus, si noluerit esse christianus, confusus et repudiatus de vestro regno abscedat. Nunc autem corroborati in fide domini nostri Iesu Christi laudemus et exaltemus nomen eius in secula seculorum. "Petri ducis Venetiarum epistola. Heinrici I constitutiones," in *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH Const. 1 (1893), no. 4, p. 7 (hereafter cited as Petrus Candianus II.).

- 21 See *Customs privileges in the post-Carolingian area in dynamic terms—from the reign of Conrad I to the reign of Frederick I (911–1190)*.
- 22 DD O I, no. 364, p. 500. DD O I, no. 348, p. 474. DD O III, no. 372, p. 799. *Die Urkunden Heinrichs II und Arduins*, ed. Harry Bresslau, MGH Diplomata 3 (1900–1903), no. 306, p. 383 (hereafter cited as DD H II). DD H II, no. 412, p. 527. *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Konrads II*, ed. Harry Bresslau, MGH Diplomata 4 (1909), no. 144, p. 195 (hereafter cited as DD K II.). DD K II, no. 154, p. 206. DD K II, no. 222, p. 303. DD K II, no. 257, pp. 354–55. *Die Urkunden Heinrichs III*, eds. Harry Bresslau and Paul Kehr, MGH Diplomata, 5 (1931), no. 82, pp. 107–8 (hereafter cited as DD H III). DD H III, no. 85, III. DD H III, no. 275, p. 376.
- 23 Jens Beckert, *Grenzen des Marktes: Die sozialen Grundlagen Wirtschaftlicher Effizienz*, (Theorie und Gesellschaft), 39 (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 1997), pp. 19–55. Przemysław Urbańczyk, "Zamach stanu' w tradycji piastowskiej Anonima Galla," in *Zamach stanu w dawnych społecznościach*, eds. Arkadiusz Sołtysiak and Justyna Olko, (Warsaw: OBT, 2004), p. 222. According to Christian Lübke, trade was an element enabling the future exchange of gifts. The collected goods were to be subject to redistribution, or they were transferred to the center exercising administrative and state supervision in the form of levies, tributes, or customs fees. See Christian Lübke, *Fremde im östlichen Europa: Von Gesellschaften ohne Staat zu Verstaatlichten Gesellschaften (9.–11. Jahrhundert)* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2001), p. 145.
- 24 Michael McCormick, *Narodziny Europy: Korzenie gospodarki europejskiej 300–900*, trans. Arkadiusz Bugaj, Zbigniew Dalewski, Jacek Lang and Irena Skrzypczak, (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2007), p. 639. See also Sebastian Steinbach, *Das Geld der Nonnen und Mönche: Münzrecht, Münzprägung und Geldumlauf der ostfränkisch-deutschen Klöster in ottonisch-salischer Zeit (ca. 911–1125)*, (Berlin: Winter Industries, 2007), pp. 25–41. See *Monetary privileges in the post-Carolingian area*.

constituted an important share in the emoluments of church institutions.²⁵ Moreover, this practice was associated with the obligation to set the maximum dimension of charges to be levied on merchants.²⁶ It also emphasized the importance of the centers that were the destination of their travels. Thus, this practice indirectly defined their legal position by referring to the principle of *antiqua consuetudo*.²⁷ Examples of this practice are mentioned by Adam of Bremen (before 1050–12 October 1081/1085), referring to ‘merchants from every part of the world’ coming to Bremen with their ‘usual wares of trade’,²⁸ and information provided by Lambert of Hersfeld (c. 1028–1082/1085), who—mentioning the merchants from Goslar—also listed the group of *mercatores exterarum gentium*²⁹ or the (written about 875) *Vita Anskarii* regarding Birka’s

25 According to Bernd Kluge, this aspect should be associated mainly with the meaning of long-term exchange in Ottonian times and during the reign of the Salian Dynasty, as well as with the function of the so-called ‘commercial deniers.’ Bernd Kluge, *Umriss der deutschen Münzgeschichte in ottonischer und salischer Zeit*, in *Fernhandel und Geldwirtschaft: Beiträge zum deutschen Münzwesen in sächsischer und salischer Zeit: Ergebnisse des Dannenberg-Kolloquiums 1990*, ed. Bernd Kluge, (Berliner Numismatische Forschungen), 1 (Berlin: Jan Thorbecke Verlag 1993), pp. 1–2.

26 We find in the sources the expression *euendi et redeundi et in sua negotia exercendi*, indicating the purpose of the journey undertaken by groups of traveling merchants. One example is a document issued 1 May 966 in Ravenna by Otto III for Peter, Doge of Venice, in which the ruler allowed the establishment of three ports and markets. “... *homines nostri regni qui ad ipsum portum venire voluerint, distringere aut per aliquam occasionem retinere aut viam illis contradicere vel inbannire aut dampnum facere audeat, sed firma facultas stabilisque securitas eundi et redeundi et sua negotia exercendi omnibus illuc venire cupientibus maneat perpetuis temporibus.*” DD O III, no. 192, pp. 600–1.

27 For the functioning of the customs duty system and how to understand it, see Franz Irsigler, “Zollpolitik ausgewählter Handelszentren im Mittelalter,” in *Die Auswirkungen von Zöllen und anderen Handelshemmnissen auf Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft vom Mittelalter bis zum Gegenwart: Referate der 11. Arbeitstagung der Gesellschaft für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte vom 9. Bis 13. April 1985 in Hohenheim*, ed. Hans Pohl, (Wiesbaden/Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985), p. 41. Harald Siems, *Handel und Wucher im Spiegel frühmittelalterlicher Rechtsquellen* (MGH Schriften), 35 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1992), pp. 450–52.

28 “*Cumque rapinam quaestio in omnes caderet episcopo subiectos, non transivit etiam negotiatores, qui ex omni terrarum parte Bremam solitis frequentabant mercibus; eos omnes execranda vicedomnorum exactio coegit sepe nudos abire. Ita civitas [a] civibus et forum mercibus usque hodie defecisse videtur, cum presertim, si quid nostris intactum superfuit, hoc servi ducis radicitus absumperunt.*” *Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. Bernd Schmeidler, MGH Ss. rer. Germ. in usum scholarum 2 (1917), lib. III, c. 58, pp. 204–5 (hereafter cited as Adam).

29 “*Maxime autem Goslariensibus propter viciniam exitiales erant. Plurimos enim eorum peregnerunt, et bona eorum, quae extra villam reperta fuissent, crebra incursione populabantur; et mercatores exterarum gentium, ne consuetas merces eo conferrent, metu vitae amitendae inhibebant.*” “*Lamberti Hersfeldensis annales a. 1040–1077.*” ed. Victor Cl. Lud. Frid. Hesse,

wealth.³⁰ Customs regulations were in force for everybody involved in trade. In Latin sources, they were defined as persons arriving to and returning from specific trade centers: *omnes homines causa negotiationis id ipsum merkatum ineuntes, negotiantes euntes et redeuntes*.³¹ The nature of their activities may provide *Capitula de functionibus publici*. It mentions quite generally that the direct destinations of people traveling (*negotiatores, mercatores, negotians*)³² were ‘places where the purchase and sale of goods was carried out.’³³ In the

in *Annales et chronica aevi Salici*, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH Ss 5 (1864), a. 1073, p. 205 (hereafter cited as Lamberti Hersfeldensis annales).

- 30 “*Proponere enim eis vicum memoratum Birca, quod ibi multi essent negotiatores divites et abundantia totius boni atque pecunia thesaurorum multa.*” *Vita Anskarii auctore Rimberto*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH Ss rer. Germ. in usum scholarum 55 (1884), c. 19, p. 41 (hereafter cited as *Vita Anskarii*). On the subject of this trade center see “*Deinde vestigia secutus magni predicatoris Anskarii, remigans mare Balthicum, non sine labore pervenit ad Byrcam principalem Suediae civitatem, quo iam post obitum sancti Anskarii nemo doctorum annis septuaginta venire ausus est preter solum, ut legimus Reimbantum. Est autem Byrcam opidum Gothorum celeberrimum, in medio Suediae positum, quod tractus quidam Balthici maris alluit, reddens portum optabilem, quo omnes Danorum, Norveorum itemque Slavorum ac Semborum naves alique Scithiae populi pro diversis commerciorum necessitatibus sollemniter convenire solent.*” *Helmold*, lib. 1, c. 8, p. 20.
- 31 DD O III, no. 367, p. 796. Goods transported for non-trade purposes—e.g. for the monastic community, privileged by the ruler, items transported for personal use or for the court—did not require payment of customs duties. One example is a document issued for Kempten Abbey, in which Otto II exempted from customs duties those in Kraichgau, Ladengau, and Gartachgau who transported wine or any other goods to this monastic community. DD O II, no. 420, p. 574. In the imperial documents, the phrase “*quoquo modo vel a navigio advectis vel plaustris vel carrucis vel quibuscumque vehiculis adductis sive ab equitibus vel peditibus vel cuiuscumque modi.*” can be found, indicating the link between the obligation to pay customs duties and goods transported for commercial purposes. DD O I, no. 299, p. 415. DD O I, no. 301, pp. 416–17.
- 32 Dietrich Claude, analysing the texts of Isidore of Seville and Gregory of Tours, drew attention to the importance of the terms *negotiator* and *mercator*, which were used as synonyms. He also pointed to the perception of merchants in the analysed source texts as a group of people who had to ‘live off the winnings.’ Dietrich Claude, “Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters,” in *Der Handel Karolinger und Wikingzeit: Bericht über die Kolloquien der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas in den Jahren 1980 bis 1985: Organisationsformen der Kaufmannsvereinigungen in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. K. Düwel, (Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa) 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), pp. 167–69.
- 33 “*Ubi telonea exigunt et ubi non exigunt debeant. Volumus firmiter omnibus in imperio nostro nobis a Deo commisso notum fieri, ut nullus teloneum exigat nisi in mercatibus ubi communia commercia emuntur ac venundantur, neque in pontibus nisi ubi antiquitus telonea exigebantur, neque in ripis aquarum, ubi tantum naves solent aliquibus noctibus manere, neque in silvis neque in stratis neque in campis neque subter pontem transeuntibus nec alicubi, nisi tantum ubi aliquid emitur aut venditur qualibet causa ad communem usum pertinens.*” “*Capitula de*

case of groups of traders, in time referred to as *mercatores opulentissimi*,³⁴ it took place only *per deneratas*.³⁵ A mention of this is already found in the *Edict of Pistres*.³⁶ The so-called *Capitula a misso cognita facta a. 803–813* states that both buying/selling and the weighing of goods was licensed by the ruler.³⁷ The records referring to groups of merchants living in royal cities also are interesting.³⁸ Local merchants were referred to as *habitatores*,

functionibus publicis,” in *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 143, §1, p. 294. Michael McCormick, *Narodziny Europy: Korzenie gospodarki europejskiej 300–900*, p. 590. See also Erika Dreyer-Eimbcke, *Alte Straßen im Herzen Europas: Könige, Kaufleute, Fahrendes Volk* (Frankfurt on the Mein: Umschau Verlag, 1989), p. 19. Robert S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages 950–1350*, pp. 60–1 and p. 87.

34 “*Ea nocte sexcenti aut eo amplius mercatores opulentissimi, ex urbe profugi, ad regem se contulerunt, intercessionis eius opem adversus archiepiscopi saevitiam imploraturi.*” *Lamberti Hersfeldensis annales*, a. 1074, p. 215.

35 It is also worth noting the importance of, indicating both the definition of ‘good coin’ and its commercial function within the regnum. “*Salva constitutione et in postmodum iure firmissimo permanente, quae in capitulari avi et patris nostri ex hoc scripta habetur, quilibet Francus homo convictus, quia bonum denarium, id est merum et bene pensantem, post hunc bannum nostrum eiecerit, medietatem Francilis banni componat.*” “Constitutio Carisiacensis de moneta a. 861,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, eds. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause, MGH Capit. 2 (1897), no. 271, p. 302.

36 “*Similiter per civitates et vicus atque per mercata ministri rei publicae provideant, ne illi, qui panem coctum aut carnem per deneratas aut vinum per sextaria vendunt, adulterare et minuere possint.*” *Edictum Pistense*, no. 273, §20, p. 319. Bernd Kluge believes that these regulations were in force until the end of the 12th century. Bernd Kluge, *Numismatik des Mittelalters*, (Berlin: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), p. 29. See Peter Volz, “Königliche Münzhoheit und Münzprivilegien im Karolingischen Reich und die Entwicklung in der sächsischen und fränkischen Zeit,” *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 21 (1971), 162–82.

37 “*Nullus homo praesumat aliter vendere aut emere vel mensurare nisi sicut dominus imperator mandatum habet.*” “*Capitula a misso cognita facta a. 803–813*,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 59, §10, p. 146.

38 Attention is drawn to a document from 1146, in which the maximum price values for grain sold in Cologne were indicated. “*Quoniam res exigue etiam exime plerumque somno oblivionis sopiuntur progrediente labentis temporis vetustate, que nec signo, nec scripto sunt denotate, notum sit presentibus et post tempora tacite fugitiva succedentibus, quod anno dominice incarnationis 1146 indictione 9, reverendo Eugenio apostolico residente, Cunrado rege regnante, Arnolde archpresule Coloniensis ecclesie vendita et empta est Colonie mensura maldrini de siligine 12 solidi Coloniensibus, ve frumento 14, quod nemo quidem Coloniensium recordatur vidisse, nec ab avis vel ab affavis audivisse.*” “Kölner Getreidepreise,” in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kölnerhandels und Verkehrs im Mittelalter*, ed. Bruno Kuske, 1 (1978), no. 1, p. 1 (hereafter cited as *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kölnerhandels und Verkehrs*; first printed in Bonn, 1923).

emptores or *cives/urbani*.³⁹ In particular, references to traders from Regensburg are highlighted.⁴⁰ They appear mainly in obituary sources, as *Radasponensis cives* along with donations from the Abbey of Saint Emmeram. In an obituary from Regensburg, among the necrological entries, one can identify a group of fourteen people who were probably involved in trade.⁴¹ These merchants probably belonged to a group of residents of the city's commercial district, which in the 11th-century *Translation of Saint Dionysius the Areopagite* was described as *pagus mercatorum*.⁴²

39 An example is a document issued by Otto III: “*Ad haec etiam volumus atque regia potentia iubemus, ut negotiatores et habitatores eiusdem loci eadem lege utantur qua caeteri emptores Trotmannie aliorumque locorum utuntur, absque omnium hominum invidiorum contradictione.*” DD O III, no. 66, p. 473.

40 The significance of this center and the group of necrological entries dedicated to people dealing with trade were already singled out by Karl Bosl, pointing to necrological entries from the first half of the 11th century. The scholar stressed that *urbs regia Radasponensis*—together with Mainz and Cologne—were the most important commercial centers of the Empire. Karl Bosl, *Die Sozialstruktur der mittelalterlichen Residenz- und Fernhadelstadt Regensburg: Die Entwicklung ihres Bürgertums von 9–14 Jahrhundert* (Munich: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1966), pp. 5–11. A special flourishing of Regensburg can be associated with the reign of Henry II, who restored the function of a royal mint to the city. Hubert Emmerig, *Der Regensburger Pfennig: Die Münzprägung in Regensburg vom 12. Jahrhundert bis 1409* (Berliner Numismatische Forschungen: Neue Folge), 3 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1993), pp. 15–6. Among the merchants connected with Regensburg, the group of traders known as *Ruzarii* also draws attention. Jarosław Wenta, *Kronika tzw. Galla Anonima: Historyczne (monastyczne i genealogiczne) oraz geograficzne konteksty powstania* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2011), p. 97. On the subject of this trade route, see Peter Charvát, *The emergence of Bohemian state* (Leiden, Boston, 2010), p. 144. Joachim Wollasch also spoke about the nature of entries from Regensburg. Joachim Wollasch, *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, eds. Eckhard Freise, Dieter Geuenich and Joachim Wollasch, MGH, Libri Memoriales et Necrologia, Ns 3 (Hannover: Hahn, 1986), pp. 11–28.

41 *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, eds. Eckhard Freise, Dieter Geuenich and Joachim Wollasch, MGH, Libri Memoriales et Necrologia, Ns 3 (1986), p. 207 (hereafter cited as *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*).

42 “*Tunc plebs urbis et senatus, pia erga patronum et doctorem suum devotione fervens, muros urbis occidentali parte deposuit, ac veluti monstratum est, monasterium hoc muro cingens, inibi inclusit, hocque urbem appellavit novam. Haec, quod rates undecunque mercimonia portantes hic in portu ponuntur, Ratispona vocatur; haec post ambitum Sancti Emmerami latum frequens regio mercatoribus incolitur, quae opum ditissima Pagus mercatorum exprimitur.*” “Anonymi Ratisbonensis translatio sancti Dionysii Areopagite,” in *Historiae aevi Salici*, ed. Rudolf Koepke and Georg H. Pertz, MGH Ss II (1854), epistola, p. 354. Hermann Heimpel, analysing this fragment of the translation, pointed out that the Regensburg market quarter was to be located at the western part of the city walls, which had been earlier pointed to as a craft district. Hermann Heimpel, *Das Gewerbe der Stadt Regensburg im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Verlag von K. Kohlhammer, 1926), p. 15.

A separate group of traders was a category of merchants defined by the term *institor*, meaning stallholders.⁴³ This term was used in the work of Conrad of Megenberg (1309–1374). A distinctive feature of this group was that they possessed boats.⁴⁴ Peter Damian (c. 1007–21 or 22 February 1072 or 1073) mentions *institores*.⁴⁵ Similar are also *Annales Erphordenses* and a group of documents from the area of the Empire, including a diploma issued on 10 August 965 by Otto I in Merseburg for the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, which granted it the right to mint the coins and organize the market.⁴⁶ The ruler also took care of merchants, defined as *institores urbium*.⁴⁷ The privileges granted to the Archbishopric by Otto I were subsequently upheld by Otto III in a document issued 16 March 988 in Wildeshausen and by Henry II in a diploma issued in Allstedt.⁴⁸ Later on, a reference to the *institores* can also be found in a document issued 17 October 1144 by Conrad III for the monastery in Helmarshausen.⁴⁹

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- 43 The group of merchants identified by the term *institor* has been defined by Conrad of Megenberg in his *Oeconomica* as a people “... *qui stantes in cellis mercionariis vendunt merces particulatim, quas a mercatoribus summatim comparant. In omnibus autem huius speciebus commutandi utile est commutatore expertum esse in particularibus rerum, ut scilicet sciat impedimenta et promociones earum, quia experientie tales instruunt qualitates et quantitates commutandi iam habitas merces, verbi gratia: Interdum accidunt naufragia Venetis et Ianuensibus aut aliis civitatibus prope marinis, et erit carencia in sexto vel septimo climatibus aromatum, que de partibus ultramarinis a calidis et longinquis feruntur regionibus.*” *Die Werke des Konrad von Megenberg, Ökonomik, T. 1*, ed. Sabine Krüger, MGH Staatschriften, 3.1 (1973), c. 16–17, pp. 344–45. Attention is also drawn to a set of subsequent records prohibiting the participation of merchants defined by the concept of an *institor* in money exchange. “*Cambium quod vulgo dicitur wehsel neque institor neque alius quivis mercatorum, sed ipse monetarius exercere debet vel is cui dominus permiserit ex indulgentia speciali.*” “De cambio et imaginibus denariorum: Heinrici regis constitutiones,” in *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum (1198–1272)*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH Const. 2 (1896), no. 301, p. 416.
- 44 *Helmold*, lib. 1, c. 71, 137. In a document of 22 April 1158, issued by Frederick I in Kaiserswerth, a group of traders appears, known as “*institores regalium urbium.*” *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Friedrichs I*, eds. Heinrich Appelt, Rainer M. Herkenrath, Walter Koch, Josef Riedmann, Winfried Stelzer and Kurt Zeilinger, MGH Diplomata 10.1 (1975), no. 213, pp. 355–57.
- 45 *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. Kurt Reindel, MGH Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit 4.3 (1989), no. 100, p. 113.
- 46 “*Annales Erphordenses a. 1220–1254,*” in *Annales aevi Suevici*, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH Ss 16 (1859), a. 1234/1235, p. 30.
- 47 DD O 1, no. 307, pp. 422–23.
- 48 DD H 11, no. 50, pp. 59–60.
- 49 “*Eapropter regia et imperiali potentia decernimus, ut omnes negotiatores et institores caeterique homines ad idem mercatum venientes vel ibi manentes seu inde revertentes talem pacem talemque iusticiam banni nostri interpositione obtineant, qualem illi habent, qui Moguntiae, Coloniae et Trudmonie negotium exercent, talemque compositionem legum*

The Chronicle of Helmold of Bosau (c. 1120–1177) is also of interest as it mentioned Henry the Lion's establishment of a trade center (Löwenstadt): it was to be created in the vicinity of Lübeck which had been destroyed by a fire and deprived of the right to organize a market. The *institores* and other inhabitants of the city sent a message to the ruler asking him to give his consent to trade, and to indicate the place where the new market was to be created.⁵⁰ Helmold's Chronicle refers to a group of *institores* who sailed to Rügen. Each time they paid a tribute as sacrifice to the heathen gods, they received permission to access the fishery. Helmold, recalling the groups of traders referred to by the term *institor*, also described the story of Gottschalk of Bardowick, a Christian missionary whose presence aroused the enormous reluctance of one of the pagan priests. The latter demanded that Gottschalk be sacrificed for the atonement

violatores huius precepti persolvant." *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Konrads III und sein Sohn Heinrich*, ed. Frank-Rutger Hausmann, MGH Diplomata 9 (1969), no. 117, p. 210 (hereafter cited as DD K 111). Mentions of the merchants referred to by the word *institor* are found in the Chronicle by Robert, a canon from Auxerre, in an entry from 1188. "*In crastinum eiusdem festi Trece civitas populosa, referta opibus, tectis amplissima, repentina conflagratione fere funditus est attrita. Celebrabantur ibi tunc nundinae, in quibus diversas congresserant opes, qui de diversis partibus confluerant institores. Ita vero de nocte subitum emerisit et invaluit vorax incendium et circumquaque ventorum turbine raptabatur, ut, dum volunt unusquisque vel sua vel aliena eripere, aut eos interciperet flamma, aut que servare voluerant desserent exurenda.*" "Roberti canonici S. Mariani Autissiodorensis chronicon," in *Ex Rerum Francogallicarum Scriptoribus: Ex historiis auctorum Flandrensium francogallica lingua scriptis. Supplementum tomi XXIV*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH Ss 26 (1882), p. 253. They also occur in the *Chronica* authored by Sicard of Cremona, as some of the wealthiest inhabitants of the city. "*In civitate novaenim, quae Cremonella fluviolo a civitate vetere dividebatur, opifices, negotiatores, institores maxime habitabant, nobiles gentes pleracque in civitate vetere domos suas habebant.*" "Sicardi episcopi Cremonensis cronica," in *Annales et chronica Italica aevi Suevici*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH Ss 31 (1903), p. 48.

50 "*In diebus illis Lubicensis civitas consumpta est incendio, et miserunt institores et ceteri habitatores urbis ad ducem dicentes: 'Diu est, ex quo inibitum est forum Lubike auctoritate iussionis vestrae. Nos autem hactenus detenti sumus in civitate hac spe recuperandi fori in beneplacito gratiae vestrae, sed nec edificia nostra multo sumptu elaborata nos abire sinebant. Nunc vero consumptis domibus supervacuum est reedificare in loco, ubi non sinitur esse forum. Da igitur nobis locum construendi civitatem in loco, qui tibi placuerit'. Rogavit igitur dux comitem Adolfum, ut permetteret sibi portum et insulam Lubike. Quod ille facere noluit. Tunc edificavit dux civitatem novam super flumen Wochenice non longe Lubeke in terra Racesburg cepitque edificare et communire. Et appellavit civitatem de suo nomine Lewenstad, quod dicitur Leonis civitas.*" Helmold, lib. 1, c. 86, pp. 168–9. What's interesting is how important the so-called commercial islands are. See Wojciech Chudziak, Piotr Pranke and Ryszard Kaźmierczak, "Socio-cultural functions of the island in Żółte," in *The Island in Żółte on Lake Żarańskie: Early Medieval Gateway into West Pomerania*, eds. Wojciech Chudziak and Ryszard Kaźmierczak, (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2014), pp. 441–50.

of the gods. A group of Christian *institores*, wanting to save their priest, offered one hundred *grzywnas* of silver in exchange for his life. Negotiations, however, proved fruitless, and the merchants (who already had full ships of fish) were forced to flee, sailing under the cover of night.⁵¹

De sancto Virgilio (Virgil of Salzburg) mentions a group of *institores* residing in Regensburg. They were to travel with their goods on the dangerous waters of the Danube to the trade centers listed in the text.⁵² The relationship between this group of merchants and shipping also emphasizes *Gai Solii Apolinaris carmina*.⁵³ On the other hand, Liutprand of Cremona (c. 920–972) mentions *institores* from Mainz.⁵⁴ This category of merchants is also referred to by Benzo

51 “*Inter varia autem libamenta sacerdos nonnunquam hominem Christianum litare solebat, huiusmodi crurore deos omnino delectari iacitans. Accidit ante paucos annos maximam institorum multitudinem eo convenisse piscacionis gratia. In Novembri enim flante vehementius vento multum illic allec capitur, et patet mercatoribus liber accessus, si tamen ante deo terrae legitima sua persolverint. Affuit tunc forte Godescalcus quidam sacerdos Domini de Bardewich invitatus, ut in tanta populorum frequentia ageret ea quae Dei sunt. Nec hoc latuit diu sacerdotem illum barbarum et accersitis rege et populo nuntiat irata vehementius numina nec aliter posse placari, nisi cruore sacerdotis, qui peregrinum inter eos sacrificium offere presumpisset. Tunc barbara gens attonita convocat institorum cohortem rogatque sibi dari sacerdotem, ut offeret deo suo placabilem hostiam. Renitentibus Christianis centum marcas offerunt in munere. Sed cum nil proficerent, ceperunt intentare vim et crastina bellum indicere. Tunc institores onustis iam de captura navibus nocte illa iter agressi sunt et secundis ventis vela credentes tam se quam sacerdotem atrocibus ademere periculis.*” Helmold, lib. II, c. 108, pp. 213–14.

52 “*De civitate Ratispona institores ad nundinas per abeuem Danubii in locum qui dicitur Ardacher cum nave maxima mercibus onusta descendentes periculum illud excitatione fluctuum assidua Spilberch vocatum inciderunt; nec mora procellarum impetuossissima vertigine involuti, multociens gyrando aquarum violentia scopulum in medio gurgitis eminentem, a quo causa tempestatis illius procedit, vellent nollent statim passuri naufragium accesserunt.*” “*Vitae et miracula sanctorum Iuvavensium Virgilli, Hartwici, Eberhardi,*” in *Historiae aevi Salici*, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH Ss II (1854), c. 16, p. 93. For the trade routes leading from Regensburg see Dietrich J. Manske, “*Untersuchungen zu früh-, hochmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Fernwegen von Regensburg nach Franken und an den Main. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturlandschaftsforschung,*” in *Regensburg, Bayern und das Reich: Festschrift für Peter Schmid zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Tobias Appl and Georg Köglmeier, (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2010), pp. 44–8.

53 “*Gai Solii Apolinaris Sidonii carmina,*” in *Gai Solii Apolinaris sidonii epistulae et carmina*, ed. Christian Luetjohann, MGH Auct. Ant. 8 (1887), p. 256.

54 “*Die quippe Kalendarum Augustarum Papia exiens per Heridani abeuem triduo Venetiam veni, ubi et Salemonem Grecorum nuntium, kitonitan, eunuchum, repperi, ab Hispania et Saxonia reversum Constantinopolim versus tendere cupientem secumque ducentem domini nostri, tunc regis, nunc imperatoris, magnis cum muneribus nuntium, Liutefredum scilicet, Magontinum institorem ditissimum.*” *Die Werke Liutprands von Cremona*, ed. Joseph Becker, MGH Ss rer. Germ. in usum scholarum 41 (1915), lib. VI, c. 4, pp. 153–54 (hereafter cited as Liutprand of Cremona). It seems that the use of people engaged in trade as

of Alba (died c. 1089, *Ad Heinricum IV imperatorem libri VII*). He mentioned Pantaleon who, along with his father Maurus, belonged to the wealthiest aristocracy of Amalfi, who engaged in trade.⁵⁵

2.2 Those Who Come and Go: the Idea of an Itinerant Market

In post-Carolingian Europe, the main commercial centers were located in peripheral areas, concentrated along the rivers and in the vicinity of the cities and monastic sites.⁵⁶ According to Dagfinn Skre, they repeatedly hosted the so-called nodular fairs, characteristic of cultural border areas.⁵⁷ Their development was associated with an increased demand in the central areas for

emissaries was a common practice for rulers. Christian Lübke, *Fremde im östlichen Europa*, p. 239. We can already find a mention on this in Isidore of Seville. “*Igitur Chilpericus, rex, cum adhuc apud supradictam villam moraretur, impedimenta movere praecipiens, Parisius venire disponet. Ad quem cum iam vale dicturus acciderem, Iudaeus quidam Priscus nomen, qui ei ad species quoemendas familiaris erat, advenit.*” *Gregorii episcopi Turonensis libri historiarum X*, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH Script. rer. Mer. 1 (1937), lib. VI, c. 5, p. 268. Another example of these practices is a reference to merchants who are messengers of the Danish king Gudfred, occurring in *Annalista Saxo*. *Die Reichschronik des Annalista Saxo*, ed. Klaus Nass, MGH Ss 37 (2006), a. 809, p. 46 (hereafter cited as *Die Reichschronik des Annalista Saxo*). In Bernard Lewis’ view, Ibrahim ibn Yaquub can be seen in this way. Bernard Lewis, “The Muslim discovery of Europe,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 20 (1957), no. 1/3, 412. This view is shared by Andreas Kaplony (he points to the legations addressed to Abd ar-Rahman III) and Charlotte Warnke. Andreas Kaplony, “Routen, Anschlussrouten, Handelshorizonte im Breif von Hasday b. Šaprut an den hazarischen König,” in *Ibrahim ibn Ya‘qub at-Turtushi: Christianity, Islam and Judaism Meet in East-Central Europe c. 800–1300 A.D.*, pp. 149–51. Charlotte Warnke, “Bemerkungen zur Reise Ibrahim ibn Jakubs durch die Slawenländer im 10. Jahrhundert,” *Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens* 32 (1965), 408–9. Charlotte Warnke, *Die Anfänge des Fernhandels in Polen 900–1025* (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag, 1964), pp. 50–2.

55 “*Eminentiores autem Apulie et Calabriae gementes sub iugo dominationis Normannice, ut cognoverunt veraciter interitum Godefredi, ultra quam credi potest, facti sunt mirabiliter leti. Et accepto consilio cum Pantaleo, Malphitano patricio, eodem duce ac previo navim ascenderunt et sub obtentu negotii Romam venerunt. Insistebant denique quidam illorum mercium venditionibus, sicut edocti fuerant ab institoribus. Pantaleus vero cum primariis descendit in scapham et navigans ad castellum Crescentii ascendit ad futurum papam.*” Benzo von Alba, *Sieben Bücher an Kaiser Heinrich IV*, ed. Hans Seyffert, MGH Ss rer. Germ. in usum scholarum 65 (1965), lib. III, c. 11, p. 300.

56 M. McCormick, *Narodziny Europy: Korzenie gospodarki europejskiej 300–900*, p. 637.

57 Dagfinn Skre, “Markets, Towns and Currencies in Scandinavia ca. AD 200–1000,” in *From One Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference Comacchio, 27th–29th March 2009*, eds. Sauro Gelichi and Richard Hodges, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 54–5.

certain goods, such as wax, salt, fish, silver, and slaves.⁵⁸ Consequently, an important feature of trade in the 10th–12th centuries was a gradual expansion of the economic penetration range.⁵⁹ This may be associated primarily with

- 58 Initially, trade exchange in post-Carolingian Europe focused primarily on the areas around the routes leading to such commercial centers as Mainz, Tiel, Bardowick, and Cologne. The Seine and Rhine rivers played an important role here. In the later period—when Regensburg gained increasing significance—the so-called Danubian corridor also played a more important role. In imperial privileges granting merchants the right to travel freely and exempting them from paying customs duties, these centers were usually excluded from the regulations being introduced, acting invariably as mandatory commercial stations. See DD O II, no. 112, p. 126. DD O II, no. 140, pp. 157–58. The dimensions of customs duties collected from merchants are reflected by the records contained in a document issued by Henry IV for the Collegiate of Saint Simeon in Trier, containing information on the customs tariff from Koblenz. DD H IV, 6.2, no. 487, pp. 662–64. With time, a gradual expansion of economic penetration into areas inhabited by Slavs is noticeable. This aspect is emphasized by documents issued by Otto III and Conrad II for merchants from Magdeburg. “*Noverit omnium fidelium nostrorum tam presentium quam futurorum industria, qualiter ob interventum Magadaburgensis aeclesie archiepiscopi Adalberti et ob ceterorum nostrorum fidelium instinctum mercatoribus Magadaburg habitantibus tam ipsis quam posteris suis tale ius concedimus quale noster pius genitor suis temporibus concessit habere, id scilicet quod ubique in nostro regno, non modo in Christianis sed etiam barbaricis regionibus, tam eundi quam redeundi licentia sit sine ullius molestia, et ne ab aliquo cogantur vectigalia persolvere urbibus pontibus aquis viis et inviis, nostra imperiali auctoritate penitus interdicimus, his locis exceptis: Mogontia, Colonia, Tiela, Bardonnuihc, et nec plura cel maiora exigantur vectigalia quam moris illorum erat persolvere; et ne aliquis nostre invidie causa pontes destruere aut aliquid impendimentum in viis facere velit, hoc banno nostro sibi a nobis vetitum sciat, sed insuper, ne alicui hoc irritum videatur aut hoc quod superius interdictum est dissolvere presumat, eum quicumque huius audacie existit, decernimus camere nostre decem talenta auri persolvere, omni dubietate postposita.*” DD O II, no. 112, pp. 126–27. “*Noverit omnium fidelium nostrorum tam praesentium quam futurorum industria, qualiter ob interventum Magdaburgensis ecclesiae archiepiscopi Hunfridi et ob caeterorum nostrorum fidelium instinctum Magdaburgensi civitati inhabitantibus tam ipsis quam posteris suis tale ius concessimus, quale nostri antecessores suis temporibus concesserunt habere, id scilicet, quod ubique in nostro regno, non solummodo in christianis sed etiam barbaricis regionibus, tam eundi quam redeundi licentia sit sine ullius molestia, et ne ab aliquo cogantur vectigalia persolvere urbibus pontibus aquis viis et inviis, nostra regali auctoritate penitus interdecimus, his locis exceptis: Moguntia, Colonia, Tiela, Bardowic, et nec plura vel maiora exigantur vectigalia quam moris illorum erat persolvere.*” DD K II, no. 18, pp. 20–1. Walter Janssen, “Archäologische Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters in Mitteleuropa,” in *Mittelalterarchäologie in Zentraleuropa: Zum Wandel und Zielsetzungen*, eds. Günter P. Fehring and Walter Sage, (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1995), p. 76.
- 59 This can be evidenced by the mention in Helmold’s Chronicle. It indirectly illustrates the disproportion between supply and demand as found in the sources. “*Audivi a referentibus, quod Mekelenburg die fori de captivitate Danorum septingentae numeratae sint animae, omnes venales, si suffecissent emptores.*” Helmold, lib. II, c. 109, p. 215. For the nature of the exchange, see Caroline Humphrey and Stephen Hugh-Jones, “Barter, Exchange

the development of the trading network in areas east of the Rhine.⁶⁰ At the same time, it was a characteristic element of the so-called the Ottonian-Salian way of organizing trade, based on the immunities system and linking places under royal protection with a set of coinage and fair privileges.⁶¹ According to Joachim Henning, the genesis of these phenomena are rooted in the intensified foundation activity of the Ottonian Empire.⁶²

Søren Sindbæk believes that the trade during the Ottonian period, was primarily periodic and directly related to transportation conditions and the presence of certain elements of transfer architecture.⁶³ According to Thomas Szabó, the regulations in Pepin's *Capitularia* were valid until the beginning of the 12th century.⁶⁴ Together with the provisions occurring in *Capitulare missorum in Theodonis villa datum secundum*, they required counts to maintain

and Value," in *Barter, Exchange and Value: An Anthropological Approach*, eds. Caroline Humphrey and Stephen Hugh Jones, (Cambridge/New York/Port Chester/Melbourne/Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 2. Heiko Steuer, "The beginnings of urban economies among the Saxons," in *The Continental Saxons from the Migration to the Tenth Century: an Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. Dennis H. Green, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), p. 175.

- 60 Christian Lübke, "Die Erweiterung des östlichen Horizonts: Der Eintritt der Slaven in die europäische Geschichte im 10. Jahrhundert," in *Ottotonische Neuanfänge: Symposium zur Ausstellung „Otto der Grosse, Magdeburg, Europa*, eds. Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter, (Mainz on the Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2001), pp. 114–25.
- 61 Walter Schlesinger, "Der Markt als Frühform der deutschen Stadt," in *Vor- und Frühformen der europäischen Stadt im Mittelalter: Bericht über ein Symposium in Reinhausen bei Göttingen in der Zeit vom 18. bis 24. April 1972*, eds. Herbert Jankuhn and Walter Schlesinger and Heiko Steuer, (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse), 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1973), p. 275.
- 62 Joachim Henning, "Der slawische Siedlungsraum und die ottonische Expansion östlich der Elbe: Ereignisgeschichte-Archäologie-Dendrochronologie," in *Europa im 10. Jahrhundert: Archäologie einer Aufbruchzeit: Internationale Tagung in Vorbereitung der Ausstellung „Otto der Große, Magdeburg und Europa*, ed. Joachim Henning, (Mainz on the Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2002), pp. 130–40.
- 63 Søren M. Sindbæk, "Routes and long distance traffic: the nodal points of Wulfstan's voyage," in *Wulfstan's Voyage: The Baltic Sea Region in the Early Viking Age as Seen from Shipboard*, eds. Anton Englert and Athena Trakadas, (Roskilde: The Viking Ship Museum, 2009), pp. 72–8. For the summary of the current state of research on the so-called periodic fairs in the pre-industrial period, see Lukas de Light, *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire: Economic and Social Aspects of Periodic Trade in Pre-industrial Society* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1993), pp. 6–9.
- 64 Thomas Szabó, "Straßen und Brücken im mittelalterlichen Italien: wie steht es um die 'Rivoluzione stradale'?", in *Die Vielschichtigkeit der Straße: Kontinuität und Wandel im Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit: Internationales Round-Table-Gespräch, Krems an der Donau, 29. November bis 1. Dezember 2007*, ed. Kornelia Holzner-Tobisch, (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit), 22 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2012), pp. 29–30.

roads and renovate bridge crossings.⁶⁵ The periodicity and the relationship of trade and communication is also reflected in the expression found in the sources, stressing additionally the way of trading: [*mercatores*] *eundi et redeundi et sua negotia exercendi*.⁶⁶

It points to the recurring presence of merchants arriving and returning in their commercial affairs to the trade centers.⁶⁷ The genesis of this phenomenon could be the disproportion between supply and demand, which led to the periodic fairs, enabling the needs of merchants to be secured, and disabling the continuity of exchange. According to Michael McCormick however, in some cases the volume of traffic was high enough for merchants under the ecclesiastical institutions to receive the right to free trade. In this regard, a document issued by Otto I for Kempten Abbey is interesting.⁶⁸ The ruler waived customs duties for merchants in Ladengau, Kraichgau, and Gartachgau, if they were transporting wine for the monastery. Another example is the diploma issued by Otto II for the Abbey of Saint Hilary and Benedict in Venice. The

65 “*De teloneis placet nobis, ut antiqua et iusta telonea a negotiatoribus exigantur, tam de pontibus quam et navigiis seu mercatis; nova vero seu iniusta, ubi vel funes tenduntur, vel cum navibus sub pontibus transitur seu et his similia, in quibus nullum adiutorium iterantibus praestatur, ut non exigantur.*” “Capitulare missorum in Theodonis villa datum secundum, generale,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 44, §13, p. 124 (hereafter cited as *Capitulare missorum in Theodonis villa datum secundum, generale*). See Alan Cooper, *Bridges, Law and Power in Medieval England 700–1400* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 43–5. “*Ut nullus cogatur ad pontem ire ad flumen transeundi propter teloneis causam, quando ille in alio loco compendiosius illud flumen transire potest. Similiter et in plano campo, ubi pons nec treiectus est, omnimodis praecipimus ut non teloneus exactur.*” “Capitulare Aquisgranense a. 809,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), §8, p. 156. “*Per singulas quoque provincias super quaelibet flumina, ubi antiqua consuetudine pontes fieri soliti sunt, instanter volumus, ut restaurentur; et si alicubi aliquis casus exigit, ut pons noviter fiat, volumus ut communi opera totius populi circum habitantis ibi pons construatur.*” “Hludovici II. Capitulare Papiense,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause, MGH Capit. 2 (1897), no. 213, §8, p. 87. “*Ut pontes publici, qui per bannum fieri solebant, anno praesente in omni loco restaurentur.*” “Capitulare missorum a. 819,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 141, §17, p. 290. An example of the king’s attention to the preservation of individual elements of transfer architecture and appropriate communication links is a document issued after 4 November 1106 by Matilda of Canossa. The Margravine of Tuscany pointed to the need to rebuild the road connecting Parma with the port of Coparmuli. *Laienfürsten- und Dynastenerkunden der Kaiserzeit, Die Urkunden und Briefe der Markgräfin Mathilde von Tuszien*, ed. Elke Goez and Werner Goez, MGH Diplomata (1998), no. 96, pp. 264–5 (hereafter cited as *Mathilde von Tuszien*).

66 DD O II, no. 112, pp. 126–27.

67 Similar phenomena are also observed in the Carolingian Empire period. Michael McCormick, *Narodziny Europy: Korzenie gospodarki europejskiej 300–900*, p. 620.

68 DD O I, no. 420, p. 574.

ruler maintained in it the rights that had been granted to the monastery by Charlemagne.⁶⁹ A diploma of similar effect was issued by Otto III 1 May 996 in Ravenna for the Doge of Venice, Pietro II Orseolo, and the privileges granted to the monastery of Saint Antoninus of Piacenza.⁷⁰ One should also mention the diploma issued by Henry II for the monastery of Saint Zeno of Verona. The charter makes provision for merchants to conduct free navigation subordinate to the abbot along the Po River, Adda River 'and all other rivers' without the burden of public levies.⁷¹ A note about securing the needs and commercial interests of church institutions is also found in a diploma issued by Conrad II for the Abbey of Saint Gall.⁷² Similarly, in a document issued for Breme Abbey the ruler allowed ships belonging to the monks to conduct free navigation for commercial purposes between Ferrara, Comacchio, and Ravenna.⁷³

A document issued for the Bishop Kadaloh (died 1045) is also of interest. In it, Conrad II sanctioned the exemption from rent for merchants who inhabited the area between Großjena and Naumburg.⁷⁴ This type of practice was an attempt to transform the 'mobile market' into permanent merchant housing by stimulating transformations in how the existing settlement network functioned. Helmut Preidel believes that the economic significance of the traveling market as an institution was already defined in the *Privilegium de omni negotium* and in the *Formulae Imperialis* (828), obligating the group of traveling traders under royal protection to appear annually or biennially at the imperial court (in mid-May) to offer the ruler and local elites their choice from among the goods supplied.⁷⁵ The merchants had to pay their liabilities in exchange for the consignment note they received (as well as for access to the centers

69 DD O II, no. 240, pp. 269–70.

70 DD O III, no. 192, p. 601. DD O III, no. 268, p. 685.

71 "sed habeant eorum naves licentiam eundi et redeundi per Padum et per Atasim seu per cetera flumina absque ulla publica exactione et datione." DD H II, no. 309, p. 388. The privilege was repeated in a document issued by Konrad II on 24 May 1027 in Verona.

72 DD K II, no. 24, p. 27.

73 "Naves etiam ipsius monasterii, que a fratribus vel eorum missis causa piscacionis vel emp-tionis sive alicuius rei commutatione ad Ferrariam vel ad Comaclum vel Rauennam seu in quasunque partes Italie misse fuerint, ita nostro dono et auctoritate sint secure, ut nullius cuiusque dignitatis vel ordinis homo ab eis aliquod tributum vel censum vel aliquam dacionem requirat vel tollere presumat." DD K II, no. 60, p. 73.

74 DD K II, no. 194, pp. 258–59.

75 Helmut Preidel, *Handel und Handwerk im frühgeschichtlichen Mitteleuropa: Eine kritische Betrachtung* (Gräfelfing bei München: Edmund Gans Verlag, 1965), pp. 41–3.

associated with the organization of court exits). It was also an opportunity for them to find a suitable group of buyers for transported goods.⁷⁶ In this way, their legal position was also indirectly determined.⁷⁷

According to Henryk Samsonowicz, the mechanisms related to the transfer of gifts and the prestige of the individual generated demand for a number of luxury goods. These included expensive weapons or lavish robes, for example, as evidenced by a group of sources mentioning the presence of people engaged in trade in the immediate vicinity of the rulers.⁷⁸ Other strong instances are Adam of Bremen, who mentions merchants arriving at the court of the Danish king Sweyn II Estridsson, and the Scandinavian Sagas.⁷⁹

The merchants, traveling with their goods, flocked to commercial centers defined in the sources using terms such as *urbs*, *civitas*, *portus*, and *vicus*.⁸⁰ The term *emporium* was less-frequently used,⁸¹ and reserved primarily to identify

76 The grand scale of the court assembly that took place in 973 in Quedlinburg draws attention here. János Gulya pointed out that there are some references in the text of [...] and Lambert of Hersfeld, mentioning the presence of envoys of various peoples, defined as *diversarum gentium multitudo conveniens* or as *legati plurimum gentium*. In Gulya's opinion, the exchange of gifts and attention to a satisfactory settling of all the proceedings were of particular importance here. The congress itself was probably also an opportunity for merchants who frequently joined the legations arriving in Quedlinburg. Janos Gulya, "Der Hoftag in Quedlinburg 973," in *Der Hoftag in Quedlinburg 973: Von den historischen Wurzeln zum neuen Europa*, ed. Andreas Ranft (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006), pp. 20–1.

77 Harald Siems, "Handel und Wucher im Spiegel frühmittelalterlicher Rechtsquellen," pp. 452–57.

78 Henryk Samsonowicz, "Dynastia, czyli od społecznej struktury plemiennej do państwowej," in *Przemysłidzi i Piastowie: Twórcy i gospodarze średniowiecznych monarchii*, ed. Józef Dobosz, (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2006), p. 18. See also Michael McCormick, *Narodziny Europy: Korzenie gospodarki europejskiej 300–900*, p. 634.

79 "Una ibi nunc facta est ecclesia, cuiusdam studio negotiatoris, quem rex Danorum multis ad hoc illexit muneribus." Adam, lib. IV, c. 16, p. 244.

80 For the definition and the use of these concepts as synonyms, see Stefan Lebecq, "The new wiks or emporia and the development of maritime economy in the Northern Seas (7th–9th centuries)," in *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*, p. 14. See Keith D. Lilley, "Non urbe, non vico, non castri: territorial control and the colonization and urbanization of Wales and Ireland under Anglo-Norman lordship," *Journal of Historical Geography* 26 (2000), no. 4, 517–31. See also Neil Middleton, "Early medieval port customs, tools and controls on foreign trade," *Early Medieval Europe* 13 (2005), no. 4, 313–16.

81 For the nature of these centers, see Hauke Jöns, Sebastian Messal, "Neue Forschungen zur Struktur mittelalterlicher Hafenanlagen an der südwestlichen Ostseeküste," in *Economies, Monetisation and the Society in the West Slavic Lands*, pp. 25–7.

exchange centers such as Dorestad, Quentovic, Ribe, and Birka.⁸² According to Karl Polanyi, this should be associated not only with the meeting places of the traders (at a distance from the direct settlement base, or even from the settled coastal zone), but also with certain elements of transfer architecture.⁸³ Matthias Untermann views the analysis of fair privileges as indicating a lack of continuity between the functioning of the fair and a group of settlement transformations leading to the emergence of urban centers.⁸⁴ Leopold Schütte emphasizes that the Latin word *portus* has repeatedly appeared together with

82 “*Post discessum igitur episcopi mater eius, unde proficere debuit, deterior efficitur et femineo possessa furore, quicquid in prediis vel rebus aliis habuit, distrahere non moratur. Denique villam in Reinwic cum attinentiis eius itemque ecclesiam et villam in Wic cum ipsius appenditiis beato Heriberto Coloniensi archiepiscopo ad monasterium, quod in Tuiciensi castro in honore sancte Marie perpetue virginis construxit, vendidit et manutergium altaris preciosum serico contextum ei tradidit et principali ecclesie beati Petri apostoli emporium in Resse cum sibi adiacentiis, ut ibi sepeliretur, dedit.*” *Vita Meinwerici episcopi Patherbrunnensis*, ed. Franz Teckhoff, MGH Ss rer. Germ. in usum scholarum 59 (1921), c. 139, p. 71. In the imperial documents, the term ‘emporium’ appears only in two of them, both issued by Henry II. The first is dated 25 June 1004 and its beneficiary is cleric Bezelin, awarded for his ministry to the convent of Saint Cyriacus. The ruler sanctioned the establishment of a market in Rincka. DD H II, no. 78, pp. 98–9. This local name can be directly connected with the functioning of the trade settlement (from the Slavic *rynek*, *ryniec*, *ryn*, *ryneček*, *rynak*, *rynok* and Kashubian *rėnk*). See Jürgen Udolph, “‘Handel’ und ‘Verkehr’ in slavischen Ortsnamen,” in *Der Handel Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit*, 4, pp. 574–75. The second of these documents was issued on 1 June 1004 in Mainz for Bridget of Andlau. DD H II, no. 79, pp. 99–100. The word *emporium* was also used in relation to such places as Leodium (Lüttich). One example is *The Life of Bishop Frederick*. “*Altera die quaedam Hoyensis puella Leodium venerat ad emporium, emere sibi necessaria.*” “*Vita Friderici ep. Leodiensis-1121.*” ed. Wilhelm Waltenbach, In *Historiae aevi Salici*, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH Ss 12 (1866), p. 507. See Simon Coupland, “Trading places: Quentovic and Dorestad reassessed,” *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002), no. 3, 209–26. Adriaan Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 20.

83 Karl Polanyi, “Ports of trade in early societies,” *Journal of Economic History* 23 (1963), no. 1, 34. Examples of the term *vicus* in documents: *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser, Die Urkunden Heinrichs I*, ed. Theodor Sieckel, MGH Diplomata 1 (1879–1884), no. 22, p. 58 (hereafter cited as DD H I.). DD O I, no. 70, p. 150. DD O I, no. 92, p. 174. DD O I, no. 337, p. 455. DD O III, no. 16, p. 414. DD O III, no. 243, p. 661. DD O III, no. 385, p. 815. DD O III, no. 436, p. 872. DD H II, no. 70, p. 88. DD H II, no. 305, p. 380. DD H II, no. 309, p. 388. DD H II, no. 530, p. 686. DD K II, no. 200, p. 267. DD K II, no. 220, p. 301. *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser, Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, eds. Dietrich von Gladiss and Alfred Gawlik, MGH Diplomata 6.1 (1941), no. 156, pp. 200–3 (hereafter cited as DD H IV.). DD K III, no. 192, p. 350. DD K III, no. 270, p. 469. DD K III, no. 283, p. 489.

84 Matthias Untermann, “Vom Markt zur Stadt. Zu Problemen früher Urbanität am Oberrhein,” *Freiburger Universitätsblätter* 42 (2003), no. 1, 244.

settlement-connected terms like *villa*, *suburbium*, and *locus*.⁸⁵ Henri Pirenne thought that it meant the destination for transported goods. According to Knut Helle, however, both terms *portus* and *vicus* were used in a synonymous sense until the end of the 11th century.⁸⁶

Studies conducted by Heinrich Teffenbach and Stéphane Lebecq emphasize that the presence of a particle *-port/dtrecht/trecht/vic* in local names may indicate their relationship with the trade sphere.⁸⁷ One example is *The Life of Saint Boniface*, the Archbishop of Mainz, by Willibald, mentioning the London market (*Lundenwich*), where ‘all useful items’ could be purchased (therefore, an emporium).⁸⁸ There is an interesting group of imperial documents in which, by means of the concepts highlighted by Teffenbach and Lebecq, the centers constituting a kind of commercial haven, or warehouse, were defined. Their functioning can be associated with the institution of the ‘traveling market’ and groups of merchants wandering with their goods along the different sections

85 Leopold Schütte, *Wik: Eine Siedlungsbezeichnung in historischen und sprachlichen Bezügen*, (Städteforschung. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für vergleichende Stadtgeschichte in Münster) 2 (Cologne/Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1976), p. 9.

86 Henri Pirenne, *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Europas im Mittelalter* (Munich: Francke Verlag, 1971), p. 45. For the use of the word *portus*, see Knut Helle, *Descriptions of Nordic towns and town-like settlements in early literature: The Twelfth Viking Congress: Developments around the Baltic and the North Sea in the Viking Age*, eds. Björn Ambrosiani and Helen Clarke, (Birka Studies) 3 (Stockholm: Schmidts Boktryckerei 1994), p. 21. Characteristics of places defined in sources by means of words such as *portus* or *vicus* corresponds to the features of central places, perceived through the prism of Walter Christaller’s concept, distinguished by Ulrich Müller. Ulrich Müller, “Zentrale Orte und Netzwerk. Zwei Konzepte zur Beschreibung von Zentralität,” in *Zwischen Fjorden und Steppe: Festschrift für Johan Callmer zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Claudia Theune, Felix Biermann, Ruth Struwe and Gerson H. Jeute, (Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2010), p. 59.

87 Heinrich Teffenbach, “Furtnamen und Verwandtes,” in *Verkehrswege, Verkehrsmittel, Organisation: Bericht über die Kolloquien der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas in den Jahren 1980 bis 1983*, eds. Herbert Jankuhn, Wolfgang Kimmig and Else Ebel, (Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa) 5, (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen., Philologisch-Historische Klasse), (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1989), pp. 287–88. Stéphane Lebecq, “The new wiks or emporia,” p. 14.

88 “*Hic etiam dum, spiritali confortatus armatura et seculari sublimatus sumptura, utriusque vitae stipendiis minime careret, adhibitis secum duobus aut tribus fratribus, quorum corporali spiritalique indigebat sustentaculo, profectus est, ac sic, immensis peragratis terrae partibus, prospero obans fratrum comitatu, pervenit ad locum, ubi erat forum rerum venalium et usque hodie antiquo Anglorum Saxonumque vocabulo appellatur Lundenwich.*” “*Vita Bonifatii auctore Willibaldo,*” in *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Moguntini*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH Ss. rer. Germ. in usum scholarum 57 (1905), c. 4, pp. 15–6.

of the long-distance trading route.⁸⁹ These centers were part of the royal *regale*, as witnessed by records from the time of Frederick I.⁹⁰

Attention is also drawn to the document issued by Lothair III (June 1075–4 December 1137) for merchants from Quedlinburg. The ruler granted them not only the right to travel freely throughout the regnum with no obligation to pay customs duties (except Cologne, Tiel and Bardowick) and let them organize the market, but he also transferred the right to settle the legal affairs of merchants directly under the jurisdiction of the bishop.⁹¹ An analogous meaning is found in the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague (c. 1045–21 October 1125), which mentions the economic significance of Prague and the *wik* in Visegrád, to which came ‘the merchants from all possible peoples.’⁹²

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- 89 Heinrich Teffenbach emphasizes that the occurrence of the local particle *-port* in the names should be linked with the Latin word *portus*, which can mean a warehouse, a port, or a commercial haven. It can also refer to the Latin term *porta*—a gate, an entrance. Heinrich Teffenbach, “Furtnamen und Verwandtes,” p. 287. It is also worth noting that the set of settlement transformations lead to the formation of permanent merchant settlements. This aspect is partly discussed by Paul Grimm. Paul Grimm, “Zu ottonischen Märkten,” p. 334–7. Examples of the term *portus* in documents: DD O I, no. 162, p. 243. DD O I, no. 347, p. 474. DD O I, no. 348, p. 474. DD O I, no. 364, p. 500. DD O I, no. 374, p. 514. DD O I, no. 459, p. 624. DD O II, no. 73, pp. 89–90. DD O II, no. 230, pp. 258–60. DD O III, no. 5, pp. 399–400. DD O III, no. 192, p. 601. DD O III, no. 205, p. 616. DD O III, no. 304, p. 731. DD H II, no. 278, p. 328. DD H II, no. 462, p. 587. DD H II, no. 482, p. 615. DD H IV, 6.1, no. 171, p. 223. DD K III, no. 200, p. 362. *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Lothars III. und der Kaiserin Richenza*, ed. Emil von Ottenthal and Hans Hirsch, MGH Diplomata 8.1 (1927), no. 99, p. 157 (hereafter cited as DD Lo III).
- 90 “Definitio regalium. Friderici I. constitutiones,” in *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum (911–1197)*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH Const. 1 (1893), no. 175 (a. 1158), pp. 244–45 (hereafter cited as Definitio regalium). Karol Modzelewski, “Wielki krewniak, wielki wojownik, wielki sasiad. Król w oczach współplemieńców,” in *Monarchia w średniowieczu: Władza nad ludźmi, władza nad terytorium: Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi*, Jerzy Pysiak, Aneta Pieniądz-Skrzypczak and Marcin R. Pauk, (Warsaw/Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2002), p. 70.
- 91 “*Proinde tam futurorum quam presentium noverit industria, qualiter nos ob interventum dilectissime consortis nostris imperatricis Richinze ac venerabilis abbatisse Gerbvr̄gis suggerente marchione Adelberto ceterisque curie nostre fidelibus negotiatores de Quitelineburch eodem modo, quo predecessores nostri reges et imperatores habuerunt, sub nostram recipimus tuitionem ac per omnia in legitimis concessionibus eorum vestigia, sicut iustum est, tenentes concedimus eis, ut per omnes nostri imperii mercatus ubique suum libere exerceant negotium et tali deinceps lege et iusticia vivant, quali usi sunt et utuntur negotiatores de Goslaria et de Magedebv̄r̄go imperiali ac regali nostrorum antecessorum traditione et confirmatione, omnino ex ista parte Alpium in omnibus locis thelonei exactionem ipsis remittentes et indulgentes, exceptis tribus: Colonia, Thile et Bartinwich.*” DD Lo III, no. 61, p. 96.
- 92 “*Nusquam enim melius ditaberis nec amplius magnificaberis quam in suburbio Pragensi et vico Wissegradensi. Ibi Iudei auro et argento plenissimi, ibi ex omni gente negotiatores ditissimi, ibi monetarii opulentissimi, ibi forum, in quo preda habundans superhabundat tuis*

As for the 'itinerant fairs' and their organization, the issue of the cyclical nature of the exchange is also of interest. The analysed source material includes information defining the market day. It is worth noting that only occasionally does one find here provisions allowing for conducting daily trade. An example is a diploma issued 28 May 996 by Otto III for Hartwig, the Archbishop of Salzburg, allowing Hartwig to organize an *omni die* market. An analogous privilege was given only to Freising.⁹³ The documents issued by Otto III also include privileges sanctioning the market *omni quarta feria*⁹⁴ and *omni feria quinta*.⁹⁵

Moreover, a set of diplomas issued by Henry II deserves attention here.⁹⁶ These indicate the possibility of organizing a market every Thursday (*omni die*

militibus." *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, ed. Bertold Bretholz, MGH Ss rer. Germ. N.S, 2 (1923), lib. II, c. 45, p. 152 (hereafter cited as Kosmas). When describing Sviatopolk's expedition, the chronicler mentioned the fairs that took place in Prague every Saturday. "*Ibi a quadam ancilla super muros astanti turpiter confusi eadem via repedantes figunt tentoria inter utrasque urbes in loco, ubi sabbato fiunt mercimonia, estimantes, quod ex utraque sui coniuuratores illa nocte confluerent ad eos.*" Kosmas, lib. III, c. 17, pp. 180–1.

93 DD O I, no. 84, p. 165.

94 "*Noverit omnium fidelium nostrorum tam praesentium quam futurorum industria, qualiter nos consensu et consilio episcoporum atque laicorum astantium, ipsius quoque summi apostolici Gregorii, Romanorum, Francorum, Bauuariorum, Saxonum, Alsatiensium, Sueorum, Lutharingorum ob. Remedium animae nostrae nostrorumque parentum nec non et interventum ac petitionem Hartuuici archiepiscopi Salzpurgensis aeclesiae talem utilitatem ac tantum honorem, id est mercatum omni die legitimum monetam Radasponensem in loco Salzpurg dicto imperiali potentia construi et adprime incoeptari concessimus.*" DD O III, no. 208, p. 619.

95 In his document issued for Abbot Ofrad of the St. Maximin's Abbey in Trier, Otto III allowed the organization of a market held every Thursday in Wasserbillig. "*Quapropter omnium sancte dei ecclesie fidelium presentium ac futurorum sollers comperiat sagacitas, quomodo nos ob. Remedium anime nostre et parentum nostrorum Ofrado reverendo abbati de sancto Maximino suisque successoribus largiti sumus concessimus ac perdonavimus ius potestatem securamque licentiam mercatum et monetam construendi faciendi ac per omnes embdomadas in feria quinta tendendi, tali legitime stabilitatis ordine ut idem abbas tam ipse quam et sui successores in sua liberali potestate teneat regat et perpetualiter habeat idem mercatum cum moneta et theloneo ac tocuis rei publice functione ac dispositione in quadam villa Billiche dicta ad abbatiam sancti Maximini pertinente, in pago quoque Muselgowi et in comitatu Becelini comitis sita.*" DD O III, no. 364, p. 793.

96 Henry II allowed the organization of a market held every Wednesday in the cited document issued to Bridget of Andlau. DD H II, no. 79, pp. 99–100. A similar record is also present in the diploma issued in 1018 in Nijmegen for Saint Ghislain Abbey. DD H II, no. 386, p. 492. The ruler also sanctioned the market every Saturday in Oppenheim. This grant was a donation to the Lorsch Abbey. "... *licentiam mercatum construendi et mercimonia exercendi in omni sabbatorum die cum banno et theloneo sive cuncta publica functione eiusque utilitate per hanc nostram preceptalem paginam perpetuo iure concedimus.*" DD H II, no. 187, p. 222.

Iovis), every tenth day of the month (*omni decimo die uniuscuiusque mensis*) and every Sunday (*omni die dominica*).⁹⁷ The periodicity of trade as carried out in the 10th–12th centuries is also reflected in the way fairs were organized.⁹⁸ They were directly related to the development of long-range exchange.⁹⁹

The number of references in the sources about the fairs remains relatively small. In the period under the Ottonian dynasty, one can point primarily to a group of diplomas sanctioning the development of a network of fairs in Italy. One of them is a document issued by Otto I for the monastic community in Bergamo. The ruler constituted the functioning of the fair in St. Sissino and the port of Monasterolo.¹⁰⁰ In one of the diplomas, he also approved organization

97 In the diploma issued by Henry II for Novara, the ruler sanctioned the market *omni die Iovis* in this center. He also allowed the organization of a market held in *omni decimo die uniuscuiusque mensis*—and an annual fair on the ninth calends of November—also in this town. In addition, the fair was to take place in Ossula every Sunday and once a year on the feast of the martyrs Protasius and Gervasius. “*Relatum est quoque, mercatum ipsius Nouarie civitatis, quod omni die Iovis agitur, nec non alterum mercatum in eadem plebe nono kalendas novembrium, id est per omnes festivitates beatissimi Iuliani confessoris Christi, aliud etiam mercatum in Ossula omni die dominica hedificatum, quod insuper annuatim in festivitate sanctorum martirum Prothasii et Geruasii colitur, concessisse.*” DD H II, no. 306, p. 383.

98 What draws attention here is the system of fairs with the participation of the Flemish merchants and their dependence on the functioning of the water transport network, which determines the nature of long-distance exchange. This subject was discussed by Franz Irsigler. The fairs in question took place in Duisburg, Cologne, and Utrecht. See Franz Irsigler, *Rhein, Mass und Mosel als Handels- und Verkehrsachsen im Mittelalter*, (Siedlungsforschung: Archäologie—Geschichte—Geographie) 25 (Bonn: Selbstverlag Arkum, 2007), pp. 16–7.

99 The beginnings of the functioning of the fairs can be linked with the Merovingian tradition. This can be evidenced by a set of source mentions on the network of fairs that were still functioning in the Merovingian era. An example of is the *regesta* of a document issued by Dagobert mentioning the organization of the fair in Saint-Denis. “*In ipso tempore annuale mercatum, quod fit post festivitatem ipsorum excellentissimorum martyrum prope idem monasterium, eidem sancto loco et fratribus Deo et sanctis martyribus ibidem deserventibus concessit et exinde huiusmodi praeceptum firmare studuit, ut omne teloneum, vel quicquid ex eo fisci patribus sperare poterat, et quod in ipsa civitate seu in omnibus reliquis locis infra ipsum pagum Parisiacum inibi denominatis ab ipsa festivitate usque dum illud mercatum finiretur iure exigiquacumque iudiciali potestate valuisset, pro aeterna retributione, atque ut eisdem Dei servis devotius pro eo omni futuro tempore divinam delectaretur exorare clementiam, totum ex integro absque ulla exceptione sive diminutione in eorum usibus perpetualiter sanciret esse indultum.*” *Die Urkunden der Merowinger nach Vorarbeiten von C. Brühl, Dagobert I*, eds. Theo Kölzer, Martina Hartmann and Andrea Stieldorf, MGH Diplomata, 2.2 (2001), no. 181, p. 575.

100 “*Quapropter omnium sancte dei ecclesie fidelium nostrorumque presentium ac futurorum noverit sollertia, Ubertum nostrum episcopum fidelem nostrumque archicancellarium adisse nostram augustalem clementiam, qualiter pro dei et beati Alexandri martiris amore*

of the Verona fair.¹⁰¹ A document from this collection dated 10 May 963, issued to the canons of Arezzo, has an analogous meaning.¹⁰² Income from the annual market *in festiuitate sancti Arnulfi* provided a salary to the Abbey of Saint Arnulf in Metz.¹⁰³

Subsequent documents indicating the organization of fairs in the post-Carolingian area are related to the period of reign of Otto III. Attention is drawn to a diploma issued 1 October 997 in Aachen for the bishopric of Mantua, in which the ruler maintained the bishopric's state of possession and indicated the sources of income for monks. One of these sources was the annual market.¹⁰⁴

During the reign of Henry II, the nuns of the Order of Saint Benedict living in Kaufungen Abbey received a special privilege. The ruler gave them the church in Wolfsanger and authorized the organization of a weekly market, held every Saturday, as well as a fair on the feast of John the Baptist and another on the Exaltation of the Cross.¹⁰⁵

It is worth stressing that the grant for Kaufungen Abbey was later supported by Henry III (28 October 1017–5 October 1056). He allowed a market to be organized every Wednesday, and for a market lasting for three consecutive days on the feast of Saint Margaret of Antioch in Pisidia.¹⁰⁶ A similar example is found

nostreque anime remedio nec non fidelitate Olerici sancte Pergamensis ecclesie episcopi Pergami ecclesie ubi beati Alexandri corpus iuxta muros civitatis humatum quiescit, hedicare mercatum annualem in insula Pergamensi in loco qui dicitur sanctum Sissinum, in festiuitate videlicet ipsius beatissimi martiris, cum omni teloneo et redditione ipsius mercati, et constituere portum in loco et abbatia que dicitur Monasteriolo, que abbatia a paganis olim destructa et nunc ab ipso episcopo restauratur, stabilire portum et stationem navium scilicet venientium ex Venetiis et Clumacis, Ferariensis partibus sive undecumque venientium, cum omni ripatico prefate ecclesie donare atque concedere dignemur." DD O I, no. 364, p. 500.

101 DD O I, no. 348, p. 474.

102 DD O I, no. 252, p. 362.

103 "Nugaredus, censum etiam de mercatu annuali in festiuitate sancti Arnulfi cum terra et hominibus in circuitu monasterii." DD O I, no. 104, p. 187.

104 DD O II, no. 255, p. 670.

105 "In predicto etiam loco Uuolfesanger omni die sabbati mercatum constituimus omnibusque qui voluerint vendendi et emendi facultatem tribuimus, et in festiuitate sancti Iohannis baptiste ibidem per tres dies annualem mercatum et Choufunga similiter in exultatione sanctae crucis per tres dies mercatum annualem concedimus, districtum etiam et tholoneum, quod nostro iuri ac potestati de eisdem mercatibus debetur, prenominato monasterio per hanc imperialem paginam in proprium donamus et attribuimus, ea videlicet ratione ut abbatissa Ota, quam eidem monasterio prefecimus, et quaecumque in eodem ordine post eam promoventur, liberam exinde habeant potestatem quicquid eis placuerit faciendi ad utilitatem tantummodo aecclesiae ac sororum ibidem sub regula monachica deo seruiuntium." DD H II, no. 412, p. 527.

106 "Cuius dignis petitionibus abrenuntiare non audentes ob interventum ac petitionem nostre dilecte genitricis Gisle scilicet imperatricis omnibus diebus Mercurii totius anni, scilicet in quarta feria, et tribus diebus in festiuitate sancte Margarete annuale et generale mercatum

in a document issued by the same ruler for the Abbess of Essen, granting her the right to organize a six-day fair.¹⁰⁷ In another document issued 16 August 1051, Henry III, in turn, decreed the organization of the market in Metten held every year on Pentecost and St. Michael's Day.¹⁰⁸

One must also note the diploma issued by Lothair III for Liège in 1131. The fair organized in Visé was a source of considerable income for the church of St. John. The diploma indicated that the duties were collected from the animals bought there, commercial boats returning to this center, and goods such as iron, metals, clothes, and all kinds of other items sold during the fair period.¹⁰⁹ A mention of the organization of an annual fair can also be found in the diploma issued by Conrad III for Freising. The ruler, referring to the commemorative tradition, maintained in it the privileges for the said center from the reign of Otto III.¹¹⁰ The document issued in 1142 in Nuremberg by Conrad III for Hugh of Kranichberg, a vassal of Margrave Diepold, has a similar meaning.¹¹¹

in eadem villa Chophungia ad augmentum predictae ecclesiae fieri consentimus et constitui volumus et per huius preceptalis auctoritatis stabilitatem toloneum et quicquid utilitatis inde unquam provenire poterit eidemmonasterio concedimus et, omnium hominum contradictione remota, negotiatoribus ceterisque hominibus ad ipsum mercatum venientibus eundi et redeundi liberam facultatem tribuimus." DD H III, no. 85, p. 111.

107 "*Cuius digne petitioni aures misericordie claudere non audentes per huius preceptalis pagine auctoritatem annuale mercatum sex diebus per singulos annos, videlicet tres ante festivitatem et tres post festivitatem predictorum martyrum Cosme et Damiani, rogante et interveniente Herimano Coloniensi archiepiscopo in eadem villa Astnide consentiendo concedimus et concedendo consentimus, et quicquid utilitatis inde provenire poterit, eidem monasterio tradimus, ea videlicet ratione ut negotiatores ceterique homines ad predictum mercatum venientes eundo et redeundo ibique manendo liberam potestatem habeant, omnium hominum occasione procul remota.*" DD H III, no. 82, p. 107.

108 DD H II, no. 275, p. 376.

109 "*Nos autem regie potestatis utentes censura predictis fratribus iam dicti mercati theloneum iudicio primatum nostroque edicto et banno toto restituimus et ad integrum, quicquid videlicet ex coemtionem animalium vel ex omni genere tam vestium quam ferri et metallorum vel ex reditu navium vel ex omnium commercio vectigalium vel ex iure forali vel ex districto iudiciali possit provenire, privilegio quod recitatum fuerat sic attestant.*" DD Lo III, no. 34, p. 57.

110 DD H III, no. 46, p. 78. In this document for Freising there is information about the fairs organized daily. This provision may not only prove the importance, but also the wealth of this center. "*Noverit omnium fidelium nostrorum tam presentium quam et futurorum industria, qualiter nos consensu et consilio atque laicorum astantium, ipsius quoque summi apostolici Gregorii, Romanorum, Francorum, Baioariorum, Saxonum, Alsatiensium, Sueorum, Lotharingorum ob remedium animae nostrae nostrorumque parentum nec non et intervenitum ac petitionem Gotescalchi Frigisingensis ecclesiae episcopi talem ac tantum honorem, id est mercatum omni die legitimum monetam Radasponensem in loco Frigisinga dicto imperiali potentia construi et adprime incoeptari concessimus.*" DD O III, no. 197, p. 605.

111 "*Insuper petitione dilecti fratris nostri Heinrici eiusdem terre marchionis annuale forum in prenominata villa cum omni iure et dominio auctoritatis nostre potestate statuimus.*" DD K III, no. 288, p. 498.

The analysis of these documents suggests that the increase in the number of centers in which the fairs were held was directly related to the development of long-distance exchange. This exchange complemented the fairs, while being an important source of income for church institutions. Also noteworthy is the commemorative nature of the remuneration provided, showing the importance of prayer commitments for the functioning of the system of markets and fairs in the post-Carolingian area. With the development of the monastic network—and subsequent endowments by the rulers in order to save their own and their predecessors' souls—it facilitated the continuity of trade through maintaining previous prayer commitments *pro beate memoriae nostre et genitoris nostris*, and was also related to the increase in demand for certain categories of goods. In this way, the increase in the number of centers associated with the organization of trade could provide indirect evidence of a change in demand in central areas. These changes can be combined with the transformations of the settlement network and changes in the way trade was organized. In other words, it emerged as a result of the transformation of the former trading places associated with the institution of the mobile market into permanent merchant housing estates.¹¹²

2.3 Fair Trading

The notion of fair trade, referring to the legacy of Roman law, had already been specified in Central Europe in the Carolingian era. Its legal significance, in accordance with the principle *antiqua consuetudo*, was associated with the use of opposing terms. These terms were *negotium iniustum-iustum negotium*, and referred to long-standing regulations and customs that sanctioned the practice of trading. Fair trading was connected with a number of obligations that should, on the one hand, guarantee successful transactions, and on the other, ensure the fairness of the persons involved. Records found in *Concilium Moguntinense a. 813* are of particular interest here.¹¹³ They were subsequently

112 Fritz Rörig, "Powstanie Magdeburga. Starsza historia handlu", p. 16.

113 "*Multa sunt negotia saecularia; de his tamen pauca perstrngimus, ad quae pertinet omnis libido non solum in immutida carnis, sed etiam in omni carnali concupiscentia, quicquid plus iusto appetit homo: turpe lucrum, munera iniusta accipere vel etiam dare, pro aliquo saeculari con-questu precio aliquem conducere, contentiones et lites vel rixas amare, in placitis saecularibus disputare, excepta defensione orfanorum viduarum, conductores aut procuratores esse saecularium rerum, turpis verbi vel facti ioculatorem esse vel iocumsaculare diligere, aleas amare, ornamentum inconueniens proposito suo querere, in deliciis vivere velle, gulam et erbietatem sequi, pondera iniusta vel mensuras habere, negotium iniustum exercere. Non tamen iustum negotium est contradicendum propter necessitates diversas, quia legimus sanctos apostolos negotiasse, et in regula sancti Benedicti praecipitur praevidere, per quorum manus negotium*

repeated (or reissued) in regulations originating in 847 setting out the rules for trading.¹¹⁴ Together with the provisions contained in the *capitularia*, these rules defined the object of trade and at the same time guaranteed the transparency of selling and purchasing. It was forbidden to trade by night without a sufficient number of witnesses who could each independently confirm the integrity of every part of the exchange.¹¹⁵

These texts also draw attention to the need for concluding transactions in a transparent and overt manner: under the open sky, in the light of day, and in front of all members of the community. This was specified so that the multiplication of wealth would not be associated with magic. On the one hand, this kind of practice resulted from the dichotomy between ‘own and foreign’, and on the other from a set of customary, traditional duties of strict observance not only to initiate the exchange, but also to guarantee its successful process.¹¹⁶

According to the records of *Capitula per missos cognita facienda a. 803–813*, consent to the commencement of trade was also connected with the need to determine the place of origin of the merchants, or to indicate the person to whom they are subject.¹¹⁷ In the *capitularia*, the categories of goods subject to special protection are also indicated. Among the goods that could only be traded in daylight were listed items made of silver and gold, as well as slaves, horses, and all other animals.¹¹⁸ The only exception was animal feed.

monasterii transeat. “Concilium Moguntinense a. 813. De negotio saculari,” in *Concilia aevi Karolini*, ed. Albert Werminghoff, MGH Conc. 2.1 (1906), no. 36, p. 264.

114 “Mainz a. 847,” in *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 843–859*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann, MGH Conc. 3 (1984), no. 14, §12, p. 168.

115 “*De negotio super omnia praecipendum est, ut nullis audeat in nocte negotiare in vasa aurea et argentea, mancipia, gemmas, caballos, animalia, excepto vivanda et fodro quod iter agentibus necessaria sunt, sed in die coram omnibus et coram testibus unusquisque suum negotium excerat.*” “Capitula post a. 805,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 55, §2, p. 142 (hereafter cited as *Capitula post a. 805*).

116 One example of these treatments may be the occurrence on the coins of the so-called incisions ‘for a trial.’ Their number—often reaching several hundred so-called ‘peck marks’ or ‘pecks’ on a single coin—may on the one hand be proof of possible magical practices accompanying trade, but on the other hand may be a form of a ritual that finalizes the transaction as a kind of handshake. For the notches on coins, see Władysław Duczko, “Test or Magic? Pecks on the Viking Age Silver,” in *Moneta Mediaevalis: Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi S. Suchodolskiemu w 65 rocznicę urodzin*, pp. 193–204. Stanisław Suchodolski, “Warum hat man im frühen Mittelalter Schätze deponiert?,” in *Economies, Monetisation and the Society in the West Slavic Lands 800–1200 A. D.*, pp. 92–3.

117 “*Ut nullus conparet caballum, bovem aut iumentum vel alia, nisi illum hominem cognoscat qui ei vendidit, aut de quo pago est vel ubi manet aut quis est eius senior.*” “*Capitula per missos cognita facienda a. 803–813*” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 67, §3, p. 157.

118 *Capitula post a. 805*, §2, p. 142.

The *Capitulare missorum Aquisgranense primum* (809) in turn stressed the importance of a ‘fair’ course of transactions that should not be ‘conducted in a sneaky’ manner.¹¹⁹ This record indicates that there was not only concern with the need to protect exchange participants from magical practices that lead to ‘enrichment,’ but also against counterfeiting and the use of dishonest units of measurement and weight.¹²⁰

Similar regulations are found in *Edictum Pistense* (864), which pointed to the obligation of local rulers to care for the quality of minted numisma, known as *denarii bene pensantes*.¹²¹ The edicts also determined the appearance of the coins: they were to include the name of the ruler, his image, the name of the city in which they were minted, and the representation of the cross.¹²²

The proportionality, transparency of transactions, and the integrity of the traders, which was reflected in the use of weights and trade weights, were also emphasized in *Capitula e canonibus excerpta*.¹²³ A similar description is found in the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague, who mentions that the dying Boleslaus II (c. 930–7 February 999) was to give advice to his son, so that after his death he would show proper care for matters in his power. Referring to the ideals of the ruler and monetary reforms of Charlemagne, he demanded that his son show due attention to the quality of the coin in circulation in the regnum and to use fair weights.¹²⁴ Similar information was also provided by *Annalista Saxo* (mid 12th century).¹²⁵

119 “*Ut nullus comparationem faciat cum paupere dolose nisi per iusticia.*” “*Capitulare missorum Aquisgranense primum*,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 62, §27, p. 151.

120 Heiko Steuer, “Gewichtsgeldwitschaften im frühgeschichtlichen Europa. Feinwagen und Gewichte als Quellen zur Währungsgeschichte” in *Der Handel Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit*, p. 406.

121 “*Ut ab ipsa missa sancti Martini per omne regnum nostrum non istius nostrae novae monetae meri et bene pensantes denarii accipiantur. Et ‘quicumque ab illa die alium denarium negotiandi causa protulerit, a comite et a ministris eius auferatur ab eo; sicut in libro capitulorum secundo, decimo octavo capitulo continentur.*” *Edictum Pistense*, §10, p. 315.

122 “*Ut in denariis novae nostrae monetae ex una parte nomen nostrum habeatur in gyro et in medio nostri nominis monogramma, ex altera vero parte nomen civitatis et in medio crux habeatur.*” *Edictum Pistense*, §11, p. 315. See also *Edictum Pistense*, §13, p. 315.

123 “*Capitula e canonibus excerpta*,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 78, §13, p. 174.

124 “*Res enim publica, licet sit nimis adaucta, per formam nummismatis falsam cito erit ad nihilum redacta. Est aliquid, fili mi, quod Karolus, rex sapientissimus et manu potentissimus, haud equipperandus nobis, hominibus valde humilibus, cum filium suum Pippinum post se in solio sublimandum disponeret, cur terribili eum sacramento constringeret, ne in regno suo subdola et prava taxatio ponderis aut monete fieret. Certe nulla clades, nulla pestilentia nec mortalitas nec non, si hostes totam terram rapinis, incediis devastarent, magis populo Dei nocerent quam frequens mutacio et fraudulenta peioratio nummi.*” *Kosmas*, lib. 1, c. 33, p. 59.

125 “*Hac tempestate obiit Bolizlaus dux Boemie, secundus huius nominis. Qui post obitum patris XXXII annis ducatum rexit fuitque iusticie et catholice fidei et christiane religionis*

These messages similarly recall the regulations of *Capitulare missorum in Theodonis villa*, the records from Aachen, and *Capitula legibus addenda*. They pointed to the need to protect against forgery of numisma (against justice and edict's provisions *contra iustitiam et contra edictum*) and to maintain fair measures and weights, while at the same time setting strict penalties for breaking the existing regulations (sixty solidi, or sixty lashes in the case of the unfree and menial offenders).¹²⁶

These regulations were also in force later, recalling the importance of ancient (and, therefore, legitimate) rights referring to the legislative tradition constituted by the use of the notion of *iustitia* and the broadly understood term *lex antiqua*. An example of this practice is the *Privilegium in favorem principum ecclesiasticorum*, originating from the time of Frederick II. According to that text, no new duties and mintage privileges would be introduced if there were any former legal provisions guaranteed by the ruler's predecessors.¹²⁷

ardentissimus exsecutor. Adpropinquante autem termino ipsius filium suum et equivocum astante Hemma coniuge sua et proceribus alloquens inter cetera intulit hec: "Ecclesie" inquit, "limina frequenter visita. Deum adora, sacerdotes eius honora. Formam denari i parce, dilige. Res enim publica nunc satis adaucta per formam nummismatis falsam ad nichilum erit redacta. Est aliquid, fili mi, quod Karolus rex sapientissimus cum filium suum Peppinum post se regnaturum disponeret, terribili eum sacramento constrinxit, ne in regno suo prava et subdola taxatio ponderis aut monete fieret. Non clades, non pestilentia, non si hostes terram vastarent magis populo Dei nocerent quam frequens mutatio et fraudulenta peioratio nummi." Die Reichschronik des Annalista Saxo, a. 1000, p. 277.

126 "De falsis monetis, quia in multis locis contra iustitiam et contra edictum fiunt, volumus ut nullo alio loco moneta sit nisi in palatio nostro, nisi forte iterum a nobis aliter fuerit ordinatum; illi tamen denarii qui modo monetati sunt, si pensantes et meri fuerint, habeantur". *Capitulare missorum in Theodonis villa datum secundum, generale*, no. 44, §18, p. 125. "De monetis statutum est, ut nullus audeat denarium merum et bene pensantem reiectare; et qui hoc facere presumpserit, si liber fuerit, bannum componat, si servus, corporali disciplina subiaceat. Et in cuiuscumque comitatum et potestate inventum fuerit et denarius ex dominica moneta bene merus et pensantes reiectaverit, episcopus, abba aut comes, in cuiuslibet potestate ut diximus inventi fuerit et hoc emendare distullerint, honore priventur." "Capitulare missorum Aquisgranense alterum," in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 63, §7, p. 152. "De adulteratoribus monetae. De falsa iubemus: qui eam percussisse conprabatus fuerit, manus ei amputetur. Et qui hoc consensit, si liber est, sexaginta solidos componat: si servus est, sexaginta ictus accipiat." "Capitula legibus addenda," in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 136, §19, p. 275.

127 "Item nova thelonea et novas monetas in ipsorum territoriis sive iurisdictionibus eis inconsultis seu nolentibus non statuemus de cetero, sed antiqua thelonea et iura monetarum, eorum ecclesiis concessa, inconvulsa et firma conservabimus et tuebimur, nec ipsi ea infringemus nec ab aliis ledi permittemus modis aliquibus, utpote monete turbari et vilificari solent similitudinibus ymaginum, quod penitus prohibemus." "Privilegium in favorem principum ecclesiasticorum. Friderici II Constitutiones" in *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum (1198–1272)*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH Const. 2 (1896), no. 73, §2, p. 89.

The role of the ruler was to sanction regulations determining the manner in which commercial transactions were completed. He was also a guarantor of trading rights and the maintenance of fair prices (*iustum pretium*).¹²⁸ Examples of the meaning of this last concept are *Vita Corbiniani episcopi* and the documents of Matilda of Tuscany (1046–24 July 1115).¹²⁹ It is worth stressing that in the post-Carolingian area the application of this notion referred to the set of codifications of customary rights contained in *Lex Visigothorum* and *Pactus Legis Salicae*.¹³⁰

In the case of ‘fair prices’, the group of source records determining the maximum value of goods is also noteworthy and deserve discussion here. Examples include *Karoli Magni notitia italica*, *Capitulare missorum Niumage*, *Concilium Aurelianense*, *Capitulare Saxonicum*, and records of the Council of Frankfurt (794).¹³¹ References in these sources were primarily to the regulation of food

- 128 “Concilium Aurelianense a. 541,” in *Concilia aevi Merovingici (511–695)*, ed. Friedrich Massen, MGH Conc. 1 (1893), §30, p. 94 (hereafter cited as Concilium Aurelianense a. 541). “*Qui pulsat quod res venundasset et non iusto pretio, accedant ambas partes super res venundavit, et existimatores cum ipsis, et rememorent et appetient res ipsa, sicut tunc valebat quando res ipsae bene restauratae fuerunt, antequam nos hic cum exercitu introissemus; et si res ipsa sic adpretiata fuerit iusto pretio, sicut in ipsa cartula legitur quod res ipsas legitimo pretio venundasset, sicut tunc valuerunt, ut dictum est, venditio ipsa firma permaneat.*” “Hlotharii constitutiones in Maringo. Hludowici et Hlothari capitularia,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH LL. 1 (1835), §2, p. 241. For the importance of the concept of justice for trade carried out in the early Middle Ages, see Odd Langholm, *The Merchant in the Confessional: Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003), pp. 248–49.
- 129 “*Tunc vir Dei locum dilectabilem, cuius superius memoriam fecimus, principi sibimet a possessoribus emere iusto pretio indicare curavit.*” “Vita I. Corbiniani auctore Arbeone,” in *Arbeonis episcopi Frisingensis vitae sanctorum Haimhrammi et Corbiniani*, Bruno Krusch, MGH Ss. rer. Germ. in usum scholarum 13 (1920), c. 25, p. 217. “*Inter has fines sunt, facta ratione, iugera viginti quattuor scilicet in filiis vestris masculinis, [quide legitimo] matrimonio nati vel procreati fuerint usque in perpetuum, tantummodo ad habendum, tenendum, fruendum, meliorandum, quantenus proficiant, iam non deperent, et nullo modo habeatis potestatem nec licentiam vendendi, donandi, comutuandi neque in aliis hominibus transferendi, nisi iuxta legem, sed habeatis potestatem in minoribus personis libellum faciendi, salva iusticia domnica persolvenda, eo videlicet modo, ut non habeatis potestatem nec licentiam vendendi neque donandi [vel] in aliis hominibus transferendi, nisi inter vos propinquiores ad iustum pretium dandum.*” Mathilde von Tuszien, no. 34, p. 121.
- 130 “*Si in contractu vinditionis minus pretium datum fuerit, et per fraudem aut etiam contra voluntatem vendentis amplius datum pretium nuntietur, quantum de iusto pretio fraudatum est, tantum duplum emtor restituat venditori.*” “Liber iudiciorum,” in *Leges Visigothorum*, ed. Karl Zeumer, MGH LL nat. Germ. 1 (1902), §6, p. 219. *Pactus legis Salicae*, ed. Karl A. Eckhardt, MGH LL nat. Germ. 4.1 (1962), p. 194–95.
- 131 “*Qui pulsat, quod res venundasset et non iusto pretio, accedant ambe partes super res quas venundavit, et existimatores cum ipsis, et rememorent et adpretient res ipsas, sicut tunc valebant quando res ipsae bene restaurante fuerunt, antequam nos hic cum exercitu introissemus. Et si res adpretiata fuerint iusto pretio, sicut in ipsa cartula legitur quod res ipsas*

prices, indicating the maximum exchange value of such commodities as oats, wheat, and rye. The records of the Council of Frankfurt also introduced the maximum dimension of the equivalent obtained from the sale of twelve loaves of bread. Later, analogous regulations were introduced in the records from Cologne in 1146, determining the price of grain.¹³²

2.4 The Customs Duty System: Just and Fair Duty

In the post-Carolingian era one can distinguish a group of source texts indicating the nature and size of the charges levied on goods transported by merchants.¹³³ John W. Berhardt believes that the functioning of this customs

legitimo pretio venundasset, sicut tunc valuerunt ut dictum est, venditio ipsa firma permaneat. Nam si res ipsius amplius estimaverint quod tunc valuissent quam pretio ipso quod accepit, et ipse qui venundaverit ostendere potuerit, ut strictus necessitate famis venditionem ipsam fecisset, aut forte cartula ipsa manifestaverit tempore necessitatis famis, cartula ipsa frangatur, et pretio iuxta quod in ipsa cartula legitur reddat, et recipiat res suas sicut modo invenerit eas, anteposito aedificia aut labores, qui postea ibi facti sunt, ipse qui fecit tollat, aut sicut inter eos convenerit. Et de ista venditione ipsa persona agat qui venundavit aut filius eius, nam non alter propinquus.” “Karoli Magni notitia italica,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 88, §2, pp. 187–88. “*et si Deo donate super se et superfamiliam suam, aut in beneficio aut in alode, annonam habuerit et venundare voluerit, non carius vendat nisi modium de avena dinarios duos, modium unum de ordeo contra dinarios tres, modium unum de spelta contra denarios tres si disparata fuerit, modium unum de sigale contra denarios quattuor, modium unum de frumento parato contra denarios sex. Et ipsum modium sit quod omnibus habere constitutum est, ut unusquisque habeat aequam mensuram et aequalia modia.*” “Capitulare missorum Niumage datum a. 806,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 46, §18, p. 132. “*Licit prioribus canonibus iam fuerit difinitum, ut, de mancipiis Christianis quae apud Iudaeos sunt, si ad ecclesia confugerint et redemi se postolaverint, etiam ad quoscumque Christianos refugerint et service Iudaeis noluerint, taxato et oblato a fidelibus iusto praetio ab eorum dominio liberentur, ideo statuimus, ut tam iusta constitutio ab omnibus Catholicis conservetur.*” Concilium Aurelianense A. 541, §30, p. 94. “*De avena vero Bortrinis pro solido uno scapilos triginta de avena et sigale quindecim. Mel vero pro solido Bortrensi sigla una et medio donant; septemtrionales autem duos siclos de melle pro uno solido donent.*” “Capitulare Saxonicum,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 27, §11, p. 72. “*Statuit piissimus dominus noster rex, consentienti sancta synodo, ut nullus homo, sive ecclesiasticus sive laicus sit, ut nunquam carius vendat annonam, sive tempore abundantiae sive tempore caritatis, quam modium publicum et noviter statutum, de modio de avena denario uno, modio ordii denarius duo, modio sigalo denarii tres, modio frumenti denarii quattuor.*” “Synodus Franconofurtensis a. 794,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 55, §4, p. 74 (hereafter cited as Synodus Franconofurtensis a. 794).

132 *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kölnerhandels und Verkehrs*, no. 1, p. 1.

133 For customs duties, see Friedrich Pfeiffer, *Rheinische Transitzölle im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), pp. 9–62.

duty system was connected, above all, with the foundation and prayer activity of the rulers. Moreover, it was, together with trade and mint privileges, an important element of the emoluments of church institutions.¹³⁴ In Latin, these charges, among others, were named using terms such as *teloneum*, *vectigalia* (*vectigalia rerum venalium*, *vectigalia rerum frumentarium*) *naulum*, *bannum* or *pontaticum*.¹³⁵ The right to establish new trading stations, as well as the determination of duty exemptions and the indication of the amount of charges levied on particular categories of goods, belonged to the ruler's prerogatives as part of the royal *regale*.¹³⁶

How to define the concept *teloneum* / *theloneum* / *tolonium* as the equivalent of the term 'Zoll' (duty) is mentioned in a document issued by Henry IV on 18 January 1074 in Worms. The ruler exempted 'Jewish merchants' and 'city dwellers' from paying customs duties in Frankfurt, Boppard, Hammerstein, Dortmund, Goslar, and Enger.¹³⁷ According to Andreas Eichstaedt, this concept was to almost completely replace a whole set of ancient terms used to determine transit charges, such as *vectigalia*, *portorium* or *quadragesima*.¹³⁸ It is worth noting that in the analysed source material the last two terms can be found only occasionally, in citing source texts from the Merovingian dynasty.¹³⁹

According to Ulf Dirlmeier, two types of charges, related to the use of specific trade routes, can be distinguished within the customs *regale*, depending directly on the method of transporting goods. The first was related to the transportation of goods via riverways, while the second was connected with the

134 An interesting issue of market perception is also discussed by this researcher, through the prism of *servitium regis*. John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany c. 936–1075* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 31–4. For this term, see also Rudolf Schieffer, *Der Geschichtliche Ort der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchenpolitik* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1998), pp. 5–6 and 20.

135 See the list of custom duties.

136 Andreas Eichstaedt, "Der Zöllner und seine Arbeitsweise," pp. 26–7.

137 "Teloneum siquidem quod teutonica lingua interpretatum est zol, quod in omnibus locis regiae potestati assignatis-videlicet Franchenevurt, Boparten, Hamerstein, Drvtmynne, Goslarie, Angere-[Iudei et coeteri] Uvormatienses solvere praeterunt debiti erant, Uvormatiensibus, ne ulterius solvant zol, remissimus, in principum nostrorum, scilicet Liemari Hammaburgensis metropolitani, Ebbonis Nvimburgensis, Diederici Viridunensis, Herimanni Babenbergensis, Bvchardi Basiliensis episcoporum coeterorumque fidelium Christi nostrorumque praesentia firmavimus." DD H IV, 6.1, no. 267, p. 343.

138 Andreas Eichstaedt, "Der Zöllner und seine Arbeitsweise," p. 17.

139 *Die Urkunden der Merowinger. Die Urkunden Chlodoweus I*, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH Diplomata 1 (1872), no. 1, p. 3.

development of a road network and the operation of transfer infrastructure elements of individual territorial authorities.¹⁴⁰

In this way, duties levied at a fair complemented a number of indirect charges related to the cyclical nature of trade. Harald Siems stresses that from Carolingian times they were also associated with the increase in the importance of specific trade routes, defined as *strata legitima* or *strata publica*.¹⁴¹ One example of that is a document issued by Frederick I in Konstanz in 1154.¹⁴² Attention is also drawn to the diploma issued by the same ruler for bishop Pontius of Avignon. In a document issued 5 August 1178 in Montélimar, the ruler granted him income derived from the duties levied on the Jewish merchants crossing the river (*naulum*).¹⁴³ Similar records also occur in a document issued in early July 1179 for Count Mangold of Veringen and the Abbey in Schaffhausen.¹⁴⁴

As for the burdens related to elements of so-called transfer architecture (bridges, roads, ports etc.), there is an interesting set of references concerning the fiscal burdens levied on bridges (*pontaticum, teloneum de ponte*)

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- 140 Ulf Dirlmeier, "Mittelalterliche Zoll- und Stapelrechte als Handelshemmnisse?," in *Die Auswirkungen von Zöllen und anderen Handelshemmnissen auf Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, pp. 20–1. On the other hand, Thomas Zotz, analysing Otto III's document for Villingen, drew attention to the role of the co-existence of mint, fair, and customs privileges. Thomas Zotz, "Die Verleihung des Markt-, Münz- und Zollrechts durch Kaiser Otto III an Graf Berthold für seinen Ort Villingen," *Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs und der Städtischen Museen* 15 (1999), 18. It is worth emphasizing that Henryk Łowmiański also pointed to the function of trading in terms of fiscal burdens. Henryk Łowmiański, *Podstawy gospodarcze formowania się państw słowiańskich* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1953), pp. 217–18.
- 141 Harald Siems, "Handel und Wucher im Spiegel frühmittelalterlicher Rechtsquellen", pp. 450–57. See Rainer Aurig, "Via regia: eine Verbindung aus der Vergangenheit in die Zukunft," in *Via regia. 800 Jahre Bewegung und Begegnung: Katalog zur 3. Sächsischen Landesausstellung*, ed. Roland Enke, (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2011), pp. 29–32.
- 142 *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Friedrichs I*, eds. Heinrich Appelt, Reiner M. Herkenrath, Walter Koch and Bettina Pferschy, MGH Diplomata 10.4 (1990), no. 1037, p. 339 (hereafter cited as DD F 1).
- 143 *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Friedrichs I*, ed. Heinrich Appelt, Reiner M. Herkenrath and Walter Koch, MGH Diplomata 10.3 (1985), no. 747, p. 294 (hereafter cited as DD F 1).
- 144 "Cum ergo nec tu ipse, ut debueras, venisses nec pro te responsalem idoneum misisses, protulerunt praedicti fratres et abbas in medium praedecessoris nostri Heinrichi quarti Romanorum imperatoris privilegium, ex cuius tenore probabant evidenter, quod ad potestatem et dominium solius abbatis et fratrum pertinet locus ille Scaffhusen cum omni iure, scilicet nundinis, mercato, moneta, naulo, telonio et institutione officiato. Ad ius vero advocatae eiusdem loci, qua nunc bannus spectat iudicialius et tertia pars quaestus illius, qui de litium compositione provenit." DD F 1, 10.3, no. 783, p. 344.

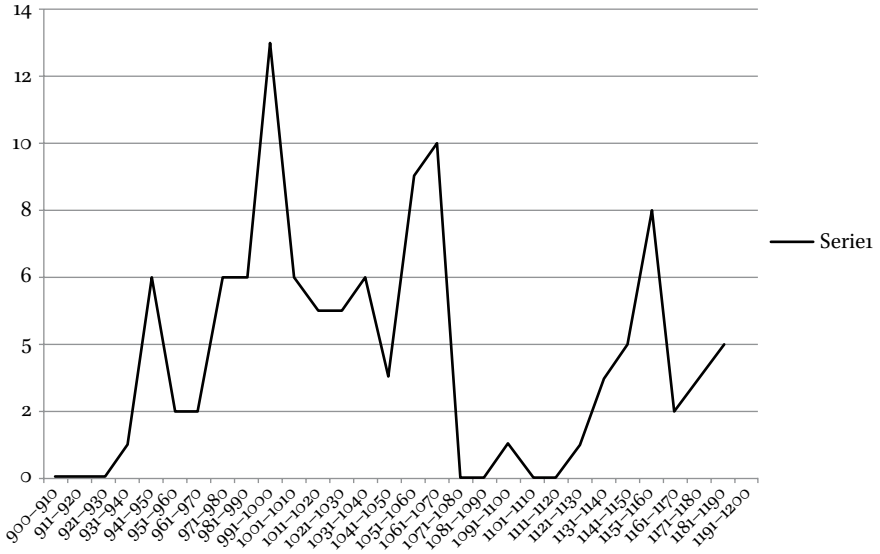


FIGURE 2.1 Fair privileges in the post-Carolingian area in chronological order

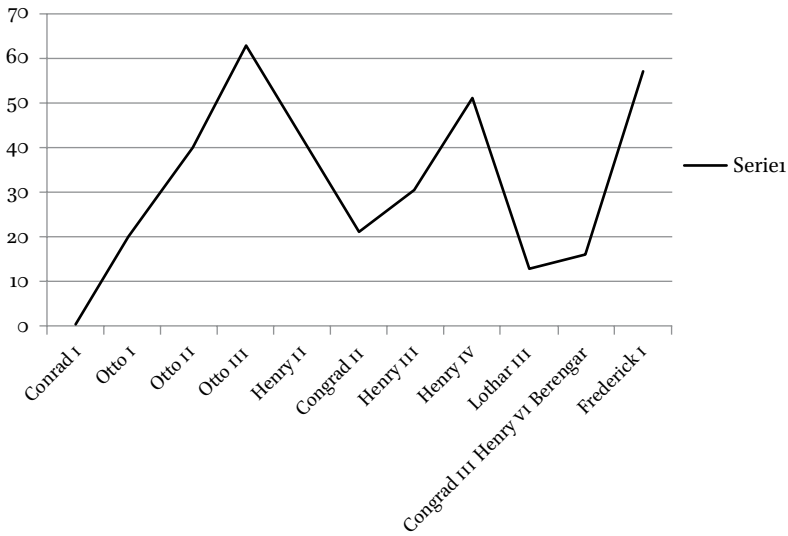


FIGURE 2.2 Fair privileges in the post-Carolingian area from the times of Conrad I to the times of Frederick I

and the road tolls (*curatura*).¹⁴⁵ The latter in the post-Carolingian area were an important element of the emoluments of centers like Pavia, Como, and Ferrara. According to Michael Borgolte, this aspect can be associated with the use of ancient Roman roads linking the northern centers of the Empire with Italian territory.¹⁴⁶

In the source material under inspection in the present study, the type of charges in question was also a significant source of income for Magdeburg, Basel and Gosslar in the second half of the 11th century.¹⁴⁷ At the same time, we can also point to the increase in the importance of centers located on the route leading from the north of the Empire to the south—towards the Italian cities famous for their commercial activities. Evidence from Thietmar's Chronicle (25 July 975–1 December 1018) indicates that precious stones, marble, gold, and relics found their way to Magdeburg through the trade route.¹⁴⁸ The reorientation of trade took place just after the period of rapid multiplication of trade centers (during the reign of Otto III), probably in an attempt to restore the era of prosperity. This can be evidenced by both the analysis of fair privileges and the number of customs privileges issued.

The latter may indicate on the one hand a significant increase in the emoluments of church institutions as a result of commemorative practices, while on the other they reflect the development of the fiscal apparatus in the area of the Empire. This phenomenon was accompanied by the expansion of the Empire's economic penetration, as evidenced by a group of imperial documents indicating the inclusion of areas located east of the Elbe River within the influence of the economic structures of Ottonian power.¹⁴⁹

This aspect can be associated not only with the increase in the demand in central places for goods such as wax, fish, salt, slaves, and others, but also with some socio-cultural transformations in the areas of the so-called *barbaricum* (the area encompassing Denmark, Pomerania, and the area of early Piast dominion), as they became interested in making connections within the elite culture of prestige.¹⁵⁰ It seems that this increase in domestic demand of the

145 See the list of custom duties.

146 Michael Borgolte, *Christen, Juden, Muselmanen: Die Erben der Antike und der Aufstieg des Abendlandes 300 bis 1400 n. Chr.* (Munich: Siedler Verlag, 2006), pp. 39–40.

147 DD H II, no. 84, p. 106. DD K II, no. 146, p. 197. DD K II, no. 162, p. 214.

148 "*Preciosum quoque marmor cum auro gemmisque cesar preceptum ad Magadaburc adduci.*" *Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi chronicon*, ed. Robert Holtzmann, MGH, Ss rer. Germ. N.S. no. 9 (1935), lib. II, c. 17, p. 58 (hereafter cited as Thietmar).

149 DD O II, no. 112, p. 126.

150 Przemysław Urbańczyk, "Struktury władzy na ziemiach polskich w I tysiącleciu n. e.," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 103 (1996), no. 4, 17–8. Przemysław Urbańczyk, *Władza i polityka we wczesnym średniowieczu* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2008), pp. 96–100. Henryk Samsonowicz, "Strefa bałtycka: jedność czy zróżnicowanie?,"

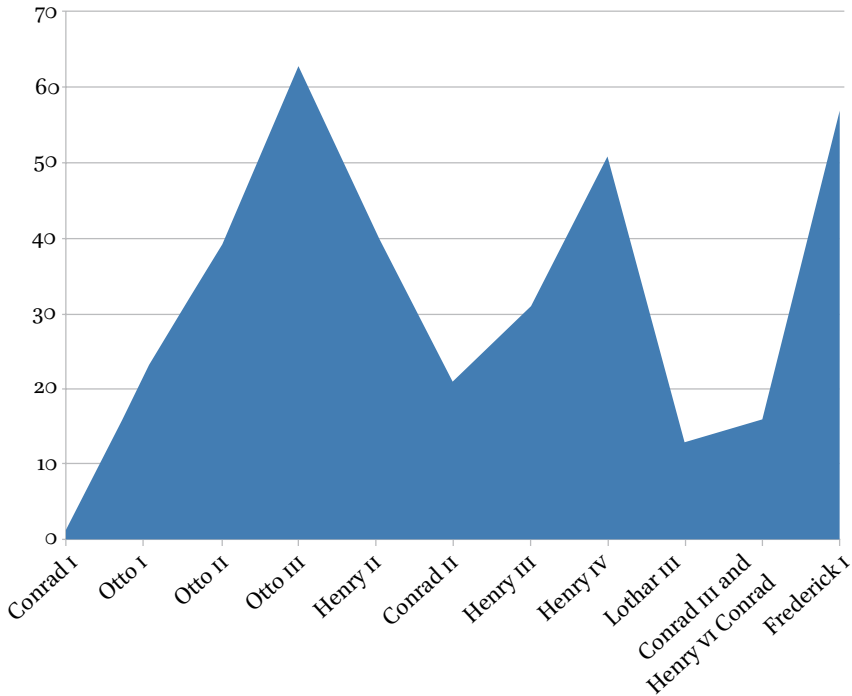


FIGURE 2.3 Customs privileges in the post-Carolingian area in dynamic terms—from the reign of Conrad I to the reign of Frederick I (911–1190)

empire was a direct consequence of the expansion of the monastic network connected with the local fairs. We can therefore see an influence of foundation and prayer practices on economic transformations from the 10th to the 12th centuries.¹⁵¹

The combination of customs privileges in dynamic terms may also reflect the apparent occurrence of business cycles, perceived through the prism of the Kondratiev/Schumpeter theory.¹⁵² The climactic moments are marked by the reigns of Otto III, Henry IV, and Frederick I, while phenomena of a clearly recessionary nature were evident during the reigns of Conrad II and Lothair III.

Zapiski Historyczne 71 (2006), nos. 2–3, 25–6. Søren M. Sindbæk, “Local and long-distance exchange,” in *Viking World*, ed. Stefan Brink, Neil Price (New York, 2008), p. 154.

151 Jarosław Wenta, “Dlaczego Bamberg, dlaczego Nordgau?,” in *Świat średniowiecza: Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi*, eds. Agnieszka Bartoszewicz, Grzegorz Myśliwski, Jerzy Pysiak and Paweł Żmudzki, (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2010), pp. 483–90.

152 See fig. 2.3.

The Scandinavian Peninsula and the Balkan Peninsula: a Comparative Analysis

3.1 Scandinavian Economic Penetration in the Light of Sources of North European Provenance

The economic significance of the expeditions undertaken by the Scandinavians from the 9th to the 12th century has been highlighted in many studies devoted to the history of the Early and High Middle Ages. It has continued to be a subject of lively discussion. The role of the Scandinavians in the economic penetration was discussed in the works of such researchers as Alexander Bugge, Holger Arbmann, Aron Guriewicz, and Henri Pirenne.¹

It is impossible to omit here the research of Lech Leciejewicz, Władysław Łosiński, and Henryk Łowmiański.² Further studies conducted by Mårten Stenberger, Dagfinn Skre, Søren'a Sindbæk, Birgitta Hårdh, Klaus Heller, Gert Hatz, Gareth Williams, and Władysław Duczko also provide important into.³

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- 1 Alexander Bugge, "Die nordeuropäischen Verkehrswege im frühen Mittelalter und die Bedeutung der Wikinger für die Entwicklung des europäischen Handels und der europäischen Schifffahrt," *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 4 (1906), 237 and 245–46. Holger Arbman, *Birka I: Die Gräber* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1940). Aron Guriewicz, "Kupiec," p. 306. Henri Pirenne, *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Europas im Mittelalter*, p. 24.
 - 2 According to Lech Leciejewicz, the ease of transporting goods such as furs, forest fruits, amber, and slaves lay at the heart of long-distance exchange and inter-regional trade. These goods were sought after in the markets of the Muslim World and in Western Europe. Lech Leciejewicz, "Kształtowanie się stosunków gospodarczych i politycznych w basenie Bałtyku we wczesnym średniowieczu," *Zapiski Historyczne* 35 (1970), no. 2, 12. See also Lech Leciejewicz, "Słowianie Zachodni i Normanowie we wzajemnych stosunkach kulturowych we wczesnym średniowieczu," *Pomorania Antiqua* 10 (1981), 155–68. Władysław Łosiński, "Chronologia, skala i drogi napływu monet arabskich do krajów europejskich u schyłku IX i w X wieku," *Slavia Antiqua* 34 (1993), 1–41. Władysław Łosiński, "Funkcja tezauryzacji kruszcu srebrnego w gospodarce wczesnofeudalnej," *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 36 (1992), nos. 1–2, 27–36. Henryk Łowmiański, "Podstawy gospodarcze i społeczne powstania państwa polskiego i jego rozwoju do początku XII wieku," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 67 (1960), no. 4, 941–70.
 - 3 Mårten Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell 1958). Eric Nylén, "Handel und Seefahrt zwischen Skandinavien und Ostbaltikum um 1000," in *Die Verbindungen zwischen Skandinavien und Ostbaltikum aufgrund der archäologischen Quellenmaterialen: I Symposium der Sowjetestnischen und Schwedischen Archäologen: Tallinn 12.–15. Oktober 1982*, eds. Aleksander Loit and Jüri Selirand, (Uppsala: Almqvist &

These scholars focused their research on the manner of organizing the exchange and definition of the categories of goods being traded, as well as the phenomenon of deposits of silver hoards.⁴ Scandinavian economic penetration

Wiksell International, 1985), pp. 84–7. Brigitta Hårdh, “Hacksilver and ingots,” in *Means of Exchange: Dealing with Silver in the Viking Age: Kaupang Excavation Project*, ed. Dagfinn Skre, (Kaupang Excavation Project Publication Series), 2 (Århus: Aarhus University Press), 2008, pp. 95–118. Brigitta Hårdh, *Silver in the Viking Age: A Regional-Economic Study* (Acta Archaeologica Lundensia: series in 8), 25 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1996), pp. 7–21. Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Drogami średniowiecznej Polski: Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i kultury* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2011), p. 81. Dagfinn Skre, “Money and trade in Viking-Age Scandinavia,” in *Economies, Monetisation and the Society in the West Slavic Lands 800–1200 A.D.*, pp. 75–86. Dagfinn Skre, “Centrality and places: The central place at Skiringssal in Vestfold, Norway,” in *Trade and Communication Networks of the First Millennium A.D. in the Northern Part of Central Europe: Central Places, Beach Markets, Landing Places and Trading Centres*, Babette Ludowici, Hauke Jöns, Sunhild Kleingärtner, Jonathan Scheschkewitz and Matthias Hardt, (Neue Studien zur Sachsenforschung), 1 (Hanover: Theiss, 2010), pp. 221–8. Dagfinn Skre, “From Dorestad to Kaupang. Frankish traders and settlers in a 9th century Scandinavian town,” in *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research and Coinage in Carolingian Times: Proceedings of the first ‘Dorestad Congress’ held at the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, June 24–27 2009*, eds. Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 132–35. Søren M. Sindbæk, “Silver Economies and Social Ties: Long-distance Interaction, Long-term Investments and why the Viking Age happened,” in *Silver Economies, Monetisation and Society in Scandinavia A.D. 800–1100*, pp. 412–59. Klaus Heller, *Die Normannen in Osteuropa* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1993). Gert Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr zwischen dem deutschen Reich und Schweden in der späten Wikingerzeit: Die deutschen Münzen des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts in Schweden* (Lund: Hallström, 1974). Gareth Williams, “The ‘Northern hoards’ revisited: Hoards and silver economy in the northern Danelaw in the early tenth century,” in *Early Medieval Art and Archaeology in the Northern World: Studies in Honour of James Graham-Campbell*, eds. Andrew Reynolds and Leslie Webster (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 459–82. Władysław Duczko, *The Filigree and Granulation Work on the Viking Period*, pp. 15–30. Władysław Duczko, “Viking Age Scandinavia and Islam,” in *Byzantium and Islam in Scandinavia. Acts of Symposium at Uppsala University: June 15–16 1996*, ed. Elisabeth Piltz, (Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1998), p. 108. Władysław Duczko, *The Viking Rus: Studies on the Presence of Scandinavians in Eastern Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004). Mats Dreijer, “Häuptlinge, Kaufleute und Missionare im Norden vor Tausend Jahren. Ein Beitrag zur Beleuchtung der Umbildung der nordischen Gesellschaft während der Übergangszeit vom Heidentum zum Christentum,” *Skrifter utgivna an Ålands Kulturstiftelse* 2 (1960), 20–106. Adriaan Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe*, pp. 44–127.

4 These issues have been discussed recently, in the Jubilee Book dedicated to Professor Władysław Duczko. Piotr Pranke, *Magic, Faith and Economy: Far-reaching Trade on the Lands of Central, East Central and Northern Europe between the 10th–12th Century*, (Acta Archaeologica Pultuskiensia) 5 (Pultusk: Pultusk Academy of Humanities, 2016), pp. 185–96. See also James Graham-Campbell, *Viking Artefacts: A Select Catalogue* (London: British Museum, 1980), pp. 85–102.

is also perceived through the prism of state-building factors (example: the emergence of Rus' - old Russian state).⁵

Attention has also been paid to the issue of the inflow of oriental coins to Central, Eastern, and Northern Europe and trade exchange with the Muslim World. Among the goods obtained by Arab traders, slaves and animal fur and skins are given primacy in the sources. However, all kinds of luxury goods, including precious fabrics and items made of bronze, iron, and glass were among the oriental trade imports to European exchange centers.⁶ The main object of exchange for goods obtained by oriental traders was Arabian silver.⁷

The significance of North European commercial penetration is witnessed by archaeological sources, traditions contained in sagas, inscriptions on runestones, and Arabic sources. They show not only the purpose of trade expeditions undertaken by the Scandinavians, but also the goods being traded.

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- 5 Henryk Łowmiański, *Zagadnienie roli Normanów w genezie państw słowiańskich* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1957).
- 6 Dagfinn Skre, "The development of urbanism in Scandinavia," in *The Viking World*, p. 90. Sebastian Wärmländer, Lidia Wähländer, "Vikingatida pärlhagen i. Silverträdens form och tillverkning," in *Birka Nu*, ed. Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson (Stockholm, 2012), pp. 142–48.
- 7 To a large extent, the numisma found in Eastern, Central-Eastern, and Northern Europe were connected with the activities of Scandinavians establishing their exchange centers with the East. Władysław Duczko, *Viking Rus': Studies on the Presence of Scandinavians*, p. 63. Intensification of the exchange was connected with the changes taking place in Mesopotamia and the emergence of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad, which was interested in acquiring luxury goods, furs, and large quantities of slaves. The presence of oriental numisma in the source material thus can be seen as a testimony to the interest of Muslim merchants in this region. Franciszek Kmietowicz, "Drogi napływu srebra arabskiego na południowe wybrzeża Bałtyku i przynależność etniczna jego nosicieli," *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 12 (1968), no. 2, 65. Tadeusz Lewicki, "Handel Samanidów ze wschodnią i środkową Europą," *Slavia Antiqua* 19 (1972), 14. Tadeusz Lewicki, "Udział krajów muzułmańskich w handlu z obszarami polskimi w IX–XI wieku w świetle znalezisk monet kufickich na naszych ziemiach," in *I Międzynarodowy Kongres Archeologii Słowiańskiej: Warszawa 14–18 IX 1965*, ed. Witold Hensel, (Wrocław/Warsaw/Cracow: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1968), p. 142. Tadeusz Lewicki, "Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Środkowej i Wschodniej Europy w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza (IX–XIII w.)," *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 13 (1955), 285. It is worth noting that in the indicated area three geographical zones associated with the oriental exchange system can be distinguished. The first zone included the lands of the Khazars and the Bulgarians and centers situated in Russia. The second was the Baltic area, participating in long-distance exchange probably from the first half of the 9th century, and the third is referred to as the Central European zone. Dariusz Adamczyk, "Orientalno-bałtycki system handlowy a proces kształtowania się Europy Wschodniej w IX i XI wieku," *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne* 2 (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2002), pp. 64–88. See also Dariusz Adamczyk, "Od dirhemów do fenigów: reorientacja bałtyckiego systemu handlowego na przełomie X i XI wieku," *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne* 4 (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2007), p. 15–26.

Sometimes they also point to the importance of far-reaching routes.⁸ One example is Adam of Bremen, who mentions the route connecting Schleswig and Hedeby (Haithabu) with Byzantium.⁹ There are also numerous references which provide information on trade in the Scandinavian sagas. *Egil's Saga* mentions merchants' activities and information about places of trade. Recalling Thorolf, it evokes the history of preparations for a trade excursion to England. After obtaining the right ship and selecting his crew, Thorolf ordered the loading of large quantities of cod, leather, dormouse skins, and other 'noble furs', wanting to exchange them for cloth and 'all other necessary goods'. After arriving in England, he was to sell his goods on the market, thanks to which in autumn he could make a return journey with a ship loaded with wheat, honey, and precious cloth, items which were in demand in Scandinavia.¹⁰

According to Grágás, five ells of wool fabric were equivalent to one öre, that is 24 to 26.8 grams of pure silver. *Egil's Saga* also mentions that in Denmark, Thorolf met merchant boats coming to the *vic* from Norway.¹¹ The saga also describes the history of trade expeditions to Dublin and Shetland made by Björn

8 Klaus Düwel, "Handel und Verkehr der Wikingerzeit nach dem Zeugnis Runeninschriften," in *Der Handel Karolinger und Wikingerzeit*, pp. 313–57.

9 "Porro cum omnis tractus Germaniae profundis horreat saltibus, sola est Iudland ceteris horridior, quae in terra fugitur propter inopiam fructuum, in mari vero propter infestationem pyrataram. Vix invenitur culta in aliquibus locis, vix humanae habitacioni oportuna. Sicubi vero brachia maris occurrunt, ibi civitates habet maximas. Hanc regionem quondam cesar Otto subiciens tributo in tres divisit episcopatus, unum constituens apud Sliaswig, quae et Heidiba dicitur, quam brachium quoddam freti barbari alluit, quod incolae Sliam vocant, unde et civitas nomen trahit. Ex eo portu naves emitti solent in Sclavianiam vel in Suediam vel ad Semland usque in Greciam." Adam, lib. IV, c. 1, p. 228.

10 "Þórólfur átti skip mikit. Þat var lagt til hafs. Þat var vandat á öllu sem mest, steint mjök fyrir ofan sjó. Þar fylgði segl stafat með vendi blám ok rauðum. Allr var reiði vandaðr mjök með skipinu. Þat skiplætr Þórólfur búa ok fekk til húskarla sína með at fara, lét þar á bera skreið ok húðir ok vöru ljósa. Þar lét hann ok fylgja grávöru mikla ok aðra skinnavöru, þá er hann hafði haft af fjalli, ok var þat féstórmikit. Skipi því lét hann Þorgils gjallanda halda vestr til Englands at kaupa sér klæði ok önnur föng, þau er hann þurfti. Heldu þeir skipi því suðr með landi ok síðan í haf ok kómu fram á Englandi, fengu þar góða kaupstefnu, hlóðu skipit með hveiti ok hunangi, víni ok klæðum, ok heldu aftr umhaustit. Þeim byrjádi vel, kómu at Hörðalandi." *Egils Saga*, ed. Bjarni Einarsson (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2003), p. 15 (hereafter cited as *Egils saga*).

11 For the value of individual units of measure and weight in the Scandinavian area, see Hans-Peter Naumann, "Warenpreise und Wertverhältnisse im alten Norden", in *Der Handel Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit*, p. 376. See Grágás. *Konungsbók*, ed. Vilhjálmur Finsens (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1974), c. 246, p. 193 (first publishing 1852, below Grágás).

"Um haustit helt hann austan til Danmerkr í þann tíma, er leystist Eyrarfloti. Þar hafði verit um sumarit, sem vant var. Fjöldi skipa af Nóregi. Þórólfur lét þat lið sigla allt fyrir ok gerði ekki vart við sik." *Egils saga*, c. 19, p. 17.

Brynjólfsson.¹² On the orders of his father, Brynjólfsson set out for the market in Dublin, which was famous for its riches. The second part of his expeditions in the saga recounts the need to unload all the possessed goods and repair his boat, as it was damaged by a storm.

The *Laxdæla saga* also mentions the trips undertaken by Scandinavian merchants to the Eastern Europe. In the story about Höskuldr, there is an account of the organizing of trade fairs accompanying the *hofding* meetings that take place every three years. The saga mentions that one day Höskuldr, together with a group of his companions, met a Russian merchant named Gilli, dressed in precious robes of scarlet, and cloth of gold, who had come there from the ‘country of Gardar’ (Rus). Höskuldr bought a slave from him for three marks of silver. The saga also describes how the trade was conducted. Höskuldr, meeting with Gilli, ordered him to bring the scales, and then honestly measured out and weighed the contents of a silver-filled purse. The slave he chose was worth around 600–900 g of silver, at least twice as much as the slave prices indicated in Scandinavian sources.¹³ According to Hans-Peter Naumann, those prices fluctuated from 200 to 300 g of silver, the equivalent of three good stallions, almost 300 kg of flour, or as many as 24 wool coats.¹⁴ Ruth Mazo Karras highlights that similar values of slave prices are present in the *Sfarfdæl saga*. It mentions the sale of one slave for 300 pieces of silver, and another for 600.¹⁵

Attention is also drawn to the saga of Saint Olaf.¹⁶ It mentions a merchant, Gudleik Gerske, who often traveled east, to Gardariki, to buy many goods hard

12 “En er Björn var albuinn ok byrr rann á, þá steig hann á bát með tólf menn ók veri inn á Aurland, ok gengu upp til bæjar ok til dýngju þeirar, er móðir hans átti. Sat hon þar inni ok konur mjök margar. Þar var Þóra. Björn sagði, at Þóra skyldi með honum fara. Leiddu þeir hana í brott, en móðir hans bað konurnar vera eigi svá djarfar, at þær gerði vart við inn í skálann, sagði, at Brynjólfir myndi illa í höndum hafa, ef hann vissi, ok sagði, at þá væri búit við geig miklum með þeim feðgum. En klæðnaðr Þóru ok gripir váru þar allir lagðir til handargagns, ok höfðu þeir Björn þat allt með sér. Fóru þeir síðan um nóttina út til skips síns, drógu þegar segl sitt ok sigldu út eftir Sognsæ ok síðan í haf. Þeim byrjaði illa ok höfðu réttu stóra ok velkði lengi í hafi, því at þeir váru öruggir í því at firrast Nóreg sem mest. Þat var einn dag, at þeir sigldu austan at Hjaltilandi hvasst veðr ok lestu skipit í landtöku við Mósey, báru þar af farminn ok fóru í borg þá, er þar var, ok báru þangat allan varning sinn ok settu upp skipit ok bættu, er brotit var.” *Egils saga*, c. 32, p. 32.

13 *Laxdaela saga*, ed. Benedikt Sveinsson (Reykjavik: Sigurður Kristjánsson, 1920), c. 12, pp. 19–22.

14 Hans-Peter Naumann, “Warenpreise und Wertverhältnisse im alten Norden,” in *Der Handel Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit*, p. 385.

15 Ruth Mazo Karras, *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 98.

16 Perille H. Fredrikksen, *Helgener og kirkededikasjoner i Norge i middelalderen* (Høsten: Universitet i Oslo, 2004), p. 75. See also Erich Hoffmann, *König Olav Haraldsson als*

to obtain in Scandinavia. At special order of the ruler, Gerske would acquire costly garments, fur, and unique (and most valuable) utensils in Novgorod.¹⁷ Among the named merchants, the saga also mentions a man from Iceland, Þórður Sigvaldaskáld (Sigvaldi). He met Saint Olaf during his expedition to England, undertaken in the time of Thorkell the Tall (himself engaged in trade).¹⁸ Similarly, Þórarinn Nefjólfsson and Hárekr, acting as royal merchants in Finnmark (northern part of Norway), also appear.¹⁹ Among the traders mentioned in the saga by name are also Karli (who worked for Olaf Haraldsson) and his brother Gunnstein. In turn, Thorer exchanged beaver, fox and sable skins for silver.²⁰ The saga also mentions the transport of salt and herring.²¹ It is worth noting that it also provides information on exchange with Lapland, listing mainly valuable reindeer skins among the goods sought after by North European merchants.²² Furthermore, information indicating the existence of marketplaces and fairs is provided.²³ In pagan times they were an element accompanying not only the celebration of religious feasts, but also assemblies and rallies.

Heiliger des Norwegischen Könighauses (Acta Visbyensia), 6 (Udelvalla: Bohusläninges Boktryckerei, 1981), p. 39. Peter H. Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings: Scandinavia and Europe A.D. 700–1100* (London/New York: Routledge, 1982), p. 33. Peter H. Sawyer, *Die Wikinger: Geschichte und Kultur eines Seefahervolkes* (Hamburg: Nikol Verlag, 2008), p. 141. Alexandra Sanmark, *Power and Conversion: A Comparative Study of Christianization in Scandinavia* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2004), p. 89. Przemysław Kulesza, *Normanowie a chrześcijaństwo: Recepcja nowej wiary w Skandynawii w IX i X wieku* (Wrocław/Racibórz: Wydawnictwo i Agencja Informacyjna waw Grzegorz Wawoczny, 2007), p. 257.

17 “*Maðr hét Guðleikr gerzki, hann var æzkaðr af Ogðum, hann var farmaðr ok kaupmaðr mikill, auðigr, ok rak kaupferðir til vmissa landa: hann fór austr i Garðariki optliga, ok var hann fyrir þa sok kallaðr Guðleikr gerzki. Þat vár bjó Guðleikr skip sitt ok ætlaði at fara um sumarit til Garða austr. Óláfr konungr sendi honum orð, at hann vill hitta hann. En er Guðleikr komtil hans, segir konungr honum, at hann vill gera félag við hann, bað hann kaupa sér dýrgripri þá, er torugætir eru þar í landi. Guðleikr segir þat á konungs forraði vera skulu. Þá lætr konungr greiða í hendr honum fé slikt, sem honum sýndisk. Fór Guðleikr um sumarit í Austrveg. Þeir lágu nokkura hrið við Gotland; var þá sem opt kann verða, at eigi váru allir haldinorðir, ok urðu landzmenn varir við, at á því skipi var félagi Óláfsdagra. Guðleikr fór um sumarit í Austrveg til Hólmgarðz ok keypti þar pell ágetlig, er hann ætlaði konungi til tignarklæða sér, ok þar með skinn dýr ok enn þorbúnað forkunnlígan.*” *“Olafs Saga helga,”* in Snorri Sturlusson, *Heimskringla. Norges Konunga Sogur*, ed. Finnur Jónsson (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gads Forlag, 1911), c. 66, p. 222 (hereafter cited as *Olafs saga*).

18 *Olafs saga*, c. 43, pp. 206–207.

19 *Olafs saga*, c. 85, p. 248 and c. 104, p. 276.

20 *Olafs saga*, c. 133, p. 311.

21 *Olafs saga*, c. 158, p. 350.

22 *Olafs saga*, c. 193, pp. 379–80.

23 *Olafs saga*, c. 77, pp. 237–38.

Further references are found the *Knýtlinga saga* and in the saga of Harald Hardrada. They mention the use of scales and weights to fairly divide the precious metals.²⁴ The saga of Harald Fairhair also points to the importance of Scandinavian connections with the Byzantine area. Of prime interest here is the story of Harald's meeting with the son of Saint Olaf—Magnus the Good. The tale recounts the vast riches available for import from the Eastern Empire: decorative garments, weapons, precious fabrics, silver, and gold, as well as coats, each worthy of a royal gift.

The saga of Olaf Tryggvason also mentions trade. It recounts the story of one of Haakon Jarl's friends—Þórir Klakka—famous not only as a Viking who took part in the dangerous travel to the *vic*, but also as a merchant running trade trips on his jarl's demands. It was on Haakon's orders that Þórir set out for Dublin, to take part in trade and to look after the 'political and economic' interests of his principal.²⁵

It seems that this kind of practice could serve to secure the needs of the powerful elite. The importance of mechanisms based on prestige and the circulation of gifts made it an important element of political influence as well.²⁶ The circulating of centrally collected goods among the elites made it easier for them to maintain power.²⁷ The precious metals and luxury goods flowing in

24 "Knytlinga saga," in *Sogur danakonunga*, eds. Carl Petersen and Emil Olson (Copenhagen: Håkon Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1919–1925), c. 19, p. 50. "Harald Hardrada saga," in *Snorri Sturlusson, Heimskringla: Norges Konunga Sogur*, ed. Finnur Jónsson (Copenhagen: Håkon Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1911), c. 24, pp. 461–62 (hereafter cited as Harald Hardrada saga).

25 "Hákon jarl fer nokkurn pata af því, at maðr mun sá vera fyrir vestan haf, er Áli nefndisk, ok halda þeir hann þar fyrir konung, en jarl grunaði af frásogn nokkurra manna, at vera myndi nokkurr af konungæt norrœnni; honum var sagt, at Áli kallaðisk gerkr at ætt, en jarl hafði þat spurt, at Tryggvi Ólafsson hafði átt son þann, er farit hafði austr i Garðariki ok þar upp fæzk með Valdimar konungi ok het sá Óláfr: Hafði jarl ok mjok atspurningum leitt um þann mann ok grunaði, at sá inn sami myndi nú vera kominn þar i Vestrlondum. Maðr er nefndr Þórir klakka, vin mikill Hákonar jarls, ok var longum í viking, en stundum í kaupferðum ok var víða kunnigt fyrir. Þenna mann sendi Hákon jarl vestr um haf, bað hann farakaupferð til Dyflinnar, sem þá var morgum títt, ok skynja þat, hverr maðr Áli þessi væri." "Saga Óláfs Tryggvasonar," in *Snorri Sturlusson, Heimskringla: Norges Konunga Sogur*, ed. Finnur Jónsson (Copenhagen: Håkon Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1911), c. 46, p. 138 (hereafter cited as *Saga Óláfs Tryggvasonar*).

26 On the exchange of gifts, see Wojciech J. Burszta, "Społeczność daru i dar w społeczeństwie," in *Do ut des—dar, pochówek, tradycja*, eds. Wojciech Dzieduszycki and Jacek Wrzesiński, (Poznań: Stowarzyszenie Naukowe Archeologów Polskich, 2005), pp. 17–24. Colin Camerer, "Gifts as economic signals and social symbols," *The American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1988), 180–214. See also Piotr Pranke, "Dar," in *Przeszłość społeczna: Próba konceptualizacji*, pp. 783–89.

27 Wojciech Dzieduszycki, *Kruszce w systemach wartości i wymiany społeczeństwa Polski wczesnośredniowiecznej* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 1995), p. 65.

through long-distance trade routes enabled them to protect their interests, and the system depended on the effectiveness of the ‘gift policy’ of local leaders and dynasties. The Song of the High One, *Hávamál*, illustrates the importance of the circulation of goods conveyed in the form of gifts.²⁸

In the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, there is also an interesting reference to the story of commercial travels undertaken by Loðinn of Vik, who came from a good and very wealthy family. Like Þórir Klakka, he was involved not only in looting expeditions, but also in trade—travelling along with his goods to the east coast of the Baltic Sea. Attention is drawn not only to the definition of the object of exchange, but also to the accentuated periodicity of the exchange. According to the saga, Loðinn had his own merchant ship and he devoted the entire summer to sell whatever he had accumulated during his travels in a marketplace full of goods. The goods being traded in what today is Estonia were, above all, slaves, among whom the hero of the quoted tale recognized Ástriðr Eiríksdóttir (the wife of King Tryggvi), who was sold into slavery. When asked by the Queen if he would agree to buy her, Loðinn accepted her offer, provided she decided to marry him. The woman, being in a difficult situation, agreed to his proposal and returned with him to Norway.²⁹

Also interesting is a story of Sigurðar and Haukur on a trade journey. They spent considerable time in the summer traveling to England to sell their goods. Returning to Norway, they sailed along the coast to the north, facing the forces gathered by Olaf Tryggvason. They were captured by the ruler’s men and then stood directly in front of him. Olaf urged them to accept baptism, but his attempts and threats proved ineffective.³⁰

28 *De Gamle Eddadigte*, ed. Finnur Jónsson (Copenhagen: GEC Gads Forlag, 1932), c. 40–52, pp. 28–30.

29 “Loðinn er maðr nefndr, vikverskr, auðigr ok ættaðr vel; hann var optliga í kaupferðum, en stundum í hernaði. Þat var eitt sumar, at Loðinn fór kaupferð í Austrveg; átti hann einn skip þat ok hafði mikinn paupeyri. Hann helt til Eistlandz ok var þar í kaupstenu um sumarit; en þá er markaðrinn stóð, þá var þangat fluttr margs konar kaupskapr; þar kom man mart falt. Þar sá Loðinn konu nokkura, er seld hafði verit mansali; ok er hann leit á konuna, þá kendi hann, at þar var Ástriðr Eiríksdóttir, er átt hafði Tryggvi konungr, ok var þá ólík því, sem fyrr, er hann sá hanna; hon var þá fol ok grunnleit ok illa klædd. Hann gekk til hennar ok spurði, hvat ráðs hennar var. Hon segir: þungt er frá því at segja: ek em seld mansali, en hingat hefð til solu. Síðan konnuðusk þau við, ok vissi Ástriðr skyn a honum; bað hon síðan, ef hann vildi kaupa hana ok hafa heim með sér til fræða sinna. Ek mun gera þér kost á um þat, segir hann; ek man flytja þik til Nórge, ef þú vill giptask mer. En með því at Ástriðr var þá nauðulinga við komin ik þat annat, at hon visi, at Loðinn var maðr stórættaðr, vaskr ok auðigr; þá heitr hon honum þessu til útlausnar sér. Síðan keypti Loðinn Ástriði ok hafði heim með sér til Nórge ok fekk hennar þar með frændaráði.” *Saga Óláfs Tryggvasonar*, c. 52, pp. 143–44.

30 *Saga Óláfs Tryggvasonar*, c. 74, p. 155.

The saga also mentions Jarl Eiríkr. Leaving Norway together with his people, he went to Gotland, the destination of many merchant ships.³¹ Mention of the economic significance of the island as a common destination for trade expeditions, is also present in the *Gutasaga*. According to the text, the people of Gotland were trading with both pagans and Christians.³²

The significance of Gotland as one of the most important places of trade in the Viking era is also evidenced by Olaf Tryggvason's expeditions.³³ Attention is also drawn to the presence of numerous silver deposits that were discovered in Gotland (more than 700 finds were registered by archaeologists).³⁴ Among them, of special importance is the Spillings Hoard dating back to the period after 870/871: its total weight is 67 kg (a silver deposit of approx. 40 kg, and a bronze deposit of approx. 27 kg).³⁵

In the case of Scandinavian economic penetration, inscriptions from runestones can provide valuable information. Klaus Düwel stresses that they primarily had a commemorative function and highlights the importance of kinship linking an honored person with a stone's founder (sometimes runestones were also founded by merchant guilds). It is also important to define the status and rank of the people memorialized.³⁶ The runic inscriptions (belong-

31 *Saga Óláfs Tryggvasonar*, c. 89, p. 166.

32 "þau et gutar hainir varu, þau silgdu þair miþ kaupmannaskap innan all land, þafi kristin ok haipin. Þa sagu kaupmenn kristna sibi I kristnum landum. Þa litu sumir sik þar kristna ok fyrþu til Gulanz prest". *Guta Saga*, ed. Anthony Faulkens and Richard Perkins (London: University College London, 1999), c. 3, p. 8.

33 According to the source, Olaf Tryggvason fought his third victorious battle there, winning many spoils. *Saga Óláfs Tryggvasonar*, c. 25, p. 121.

34 On finds of silver depositions originating from the Gotland area and the economic significance of the island during the Viking period. Mårten Sternberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit*, pp. 13–24. Siegfried Mews, *Gotlands Handel und Verkehr bis zum Auftreten der Hansen (12 Jahrhundert)* (Greifswald: Druckerei Hans Adler, 1937), pp. 23–83. Lena Thunmark-Nylén, *Die Wikingerzeit Gotlands*, 3 vols, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2006), pp. 656–62.

35 For the Spillings Hoard, see Daniel C. Waugh, "The Spillings hoard in the Gotlands Museum," *The Silk Road* 9 (2011), 165–9. Dariusz Adamczyk, "Handel fryzjsko-frankowski, ekspansja wikingów a kwestia napływu kruszców do strefy bałtyckiej w IX wieku," *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne* 6 (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2010), p. 72.

36 Klaus Düwel, "Handel und Verkehr der Wikingerzeit nach dem Zeugnis Runeninschriften," in *Der Handel Karolinger und Wikingerzeit*, p. 314. Problems related to the function of runestones were discussed, among others, by such scholars as Lennart Elmevik, or Lydia Klos. Lennart Elmevik, "Runeninschriften als Quelle der Sprachgeschichte zur Wikingerzeit," in *Runeninschriften als Quellen interdisziplinärer Forschung: Abhandlungen des Vierten Internationalen Symposiums über Runen und Runeninschriften in Göttingen vom 4–9. August 1995*, eds. Sean Nowak and Klaus Düwel, (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter,

ing mainly to the group of the so-called traveler's inscriptions) also repeatedly mention the purpose of trade expeditions and the goods being exchanged. A demonstrative example is the inscription on runestone Sö 198. It mentions Sigrid, who raised the stone for her husband, Sven, a merchant sailing a knarr loaded with precious cargo in the direction of Semigallia.³⁷

The inscriptions on runestones Sö 179, Sö 39, and Sö 163 have an analogous meaning. The first of these examples recalls Harald (son of Tol and brother of Ingvar) who went east on a journey for gold.³⁸ The second stone mentions Härmod, who drowned during a trip to Livonia.³⁹ In turn, the inscription on runestone Sö 163 evokes the memory of Olaf, who earned gold in Byzantium.⁴⁰ There is also an inscription engraved on runestone U 73 on an expedition to Greece. It mentions Inga's sons, who died in Byzantium.⁴¹ It is worth noting that there is a set of at least several dozen inscriptions on runestones which are connected to expeditions undertaken by the Scandinavians towards the Eastern Empire.⁴² The majority of them come from the Uppland and

1998), pp. 583–6. Lydia Klos, *Die Runensteine in Schweden: Studien zu Aufstellungsort und Funktion* (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde), 64 (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2009), pp. 343–45.

37 “*xsirip-lit-resa-stan-[þin]a-at-suen-sin-[b]unta-h[n]-uft-sikt-til-simkala-turu[m]-knari-um-tuminis*” *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, eds. Erik Brate and Elias Wessen (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1924–1936), p. 173 (hereafter cited as *Södermanlands runinskrifter*).

38 “*×Tula: lit: raisa stain þinsat: sun: sin: haralt :brupur :inkuars: || þair || furu: trikila :at : kuli : auk : a:ustarlar:ni:kaufu:tuu:sunar:la:a:sirk:lan:ti.*” *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, Sö 179, p. 154. The runestones narrating the story about the trip to obtain gold also concerned the direction of that trip. The desire for this gold meant an expedition to the east.

39 *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, Sö 39, p. 30.

40 “*Þrurikr: stain : at : suni : sina : siniala : trakia : for : ulafir : i : krikuium : uli : sifti*” *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, Sö 163, p. 124.

41 *Upplands runinskrifter*, eds. Elias Wessén and Sven Birger Fredrik Jansson, 1 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1940–1943), U 73, p. 97 (hereafter cited as *Upplands runinskrifter*, 1).

42 Some examples of runic inscriptions dedicated to people who have embarked on expeditions to Byzantium are provided by inscriptions on the following runestones: *Upplands runinskrifter*, 1, U 104, p. 150. *Upplands Runinskrifter*, 1, U 112, p. 159. *Upplands runinskrifter*, 1, U 136, p. 202. *Upplands runinskrifter*, 1, U 140, p. 205. *Upplands runinskrifter*, 1, U 201, p. 302. *Upplands runinskrifter*, 1, U 270, p. 440. *Upplands runinskrifter*, eds. Elias Wessén and Sven Birger Fredrik Jansson, 2 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1943–1946), U 374, p. 127 (hereafter cited as *Upplands runinskrifter*, 2). *Upplands Runinskrifter*, 2, U 446, p. 243. *Upplands runinskrifter*, 2, U 540, p. 423. *Upplands runinskrifter*, eds. Elias Wessén and Sven Birger Fredrik Jansson, 3 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1949–1951), U 792, p. 381. *Upplands runinskrifter*, eds. Elias Wessén and Sven Birger Fredrik Jansson, 4 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1953–1958), U 956, p. 80 (hereafter cited as *Upplands Runinskrifter*, 4). *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, Sö 85, p. 62.

Södermanland areas. Some examples are provided by stones U 366, U 518, Sö 82, and Sö 126.⁴³ The last of these inscriptions mentions two brothers, Holmfrid and Hidinfrid, who erected that stone to commemorate their father, Äskil. The inscription says that he followed ‘the way to the east’ as a warrior. The inscription dedicated to Torkel and Styrbjörn on stone Sö 34 from Tjuvstigen has a similar meaning.⁴⁴ The texts on runestones Sö 308, U 154, and Vg 197 are similar as well.⁴⁵

The Scandinavian expeditions are also mentioned on the famous U 1016 runestone from Fjuckby. It was Liut who raised this runestone to commemorate his sons, who reached ‘the Greeks.’⁴⁶ The runic inscription on stone U 898, erected for Jarl, Gisl, and Ingimund, has a similar meaning.⁴⁷ Of interest is also the inscription from Gotland on the runestone from Timans, marked as

Södermanlands runinskrifter, Sö 163, p. 124. *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, Sö 170, p. 132. *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, Sö 345, p. 336. *Östergötland runininskrifter*, ed. Erik Brate (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt and Söhne, 1911), Ög 94, p. 95 (hereafter cited as *Östergötlands runininskrifter*). *Västergötlands runinskrifter*, ed. Elisabeth Svärdstrom (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1958), Vg 178, p. 320 (hereafter cited as *Västergötlands Runinskrifter*). *Smålands runininskrifter*, ed. Ragnar Kinander (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1935–1961), Sm 46, p. 145 (hereafter cited as *Smålands runininskrifter*). *Gotlands runinskriften*, eds. Sven Birger Fredrik Jansson, Elias Wessén and Elisabeth Svärdstrom, 2 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1962), G 216, p. 234 (hereafter cited as *Gotlands runinskriften*, 2).

- 43 The issue of expeditions undertaken by the Scandinavians has been discussed recently based on runic inscriptions by Kristel Zilmer. Kristel Zilmer, “Deictic references in runic inscriptions on voyage runestones,” *Futhark: International Journal of Runic Studies* 1 (2010), 124–139. She also discusses the issue of the functioning of the so-called *austrwegr* (roads to the east) in the context of selected motifs of Old Norse literature. It is worth highlighting that the above-mentioned studies emphasize first of all the importance of the southern Baltic area as a kind of transit zone. Kristel Zilmer, “Sailing to the East Sea—on selected motifs concerning the Baltic Sea in Old Norse-Icelandic literature,” in *Drevneiše gosudarstva Vostočnoj Evropy*, ed. Tatjana N. Jackson (Moscow: Indrik, 2010), p. 103. “...uaṚ ·tauṇr × i austr · uih · ...” *Upplands runinskrifter*, U 366, p. 117. “ṇurkir × uk × suin × ṇu litu × risa × stin × ṇina × iftiṚ × urmiṚ × uk × frikiṚ × on × etapiṣ × i silu × nur × ian ṇiṚ antriṚ × uti × krikum × kuṇ ihlbi - Ṛa ot × uk salu.” *Upplands runinskrifter*, U 518, p. 377. *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, Sö 126, p. 94.
- 44 “styrlaugṚ · auk · hulmṇṚ · staina · raistu · at · bryṇr · sina · brauiu · nesta · ṇaiṚ · entapiṣ · i · austreki · ṇurkil · sturbiarn · ṇiaknaṚ kuṇiṚ.” *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, Sö 34, p. 27.
- 45 *Södermanlands Runinskrifter*, Sö 308, p. 285. *Upplands runinskrifter*, 1, U 154, p. 233. *Västergötlands runinskrifter*, Vg 197, p. 315.
- 46 “liutr : sturimaṇr · riti : stain : ṇinsa : aftir : sunu · sina : sa hit aki : sims uti furs : sturṇi · nari · kaum · : hn krik · hafniṚ : haima tu : ... mu ... kar ... iuk ru - a ...” See *Upplands runinskrifter*, 4, U 1016, p. 224.
- 47 “ali · uk · iufurfast · litu · gera · merki · iftiṚ iarl faṇur sin · uk · at · kisl · uk · at · kisl · uk · at · iki · munt han · uaṚ · trebin · hustr · sun · iarlṣ ybiṚ risti.” *Upplands runinskrifter*, 3, U 898, p. 613.

G 216. The inscription, dated to the second half of the 11th century, mentions Ulfair, who traveled to Byzantium, Jerusalem, Iceland, and the areas of Arabian Caliphate.⁴⁸ In turn, the stone from Bjuddby, Sö 360, tells of the expedition undertaken by Þorbiorn to the Black Sea,⁴⁹ while information about the expedition to Khwarezm is probably present on the stone from Stora Rytterne, Vs 1. It mentions Guðlæifr, who erected it to commemorate his son, gone east to Khwarezm.⁵⁰ In several cases, we also find references to expeditions bound for Lombardy.⁵¹

Interest is also aroused by the group of inscriptions on stones U 194, U 241, U 344, U 539, U 616, and Sö 160.⁵² They were dedicated to the memory of people taking part in expeditions to England. This group also includes runestone Sö 46 and inscriptions on stones U 978, Sm 5, Sm 29, and Ög 104, among others.⁵³ The Sö 46 inscription evokes Äskil and Gnödimand. They erected this runestone to commemorate their brother Svärre, who died during a looting expedition to England.⁵⁴ Olly and Gærfastr also had a similar fate.⁵⁵ A separate group of inscriptions are references to trips undertaken around the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. This group includes, among others, information on runestones U 214, U 439, U 582, and G 135.⁵⁶

The inscriptions Sö 338, U 209, U 636, Sö 148, G 114, and Öl 28 mention the journeys made to Russia (Garðar).⁵⁷ Sometimes they also give the direct pur-

48 “:ormiga : ulfuair : krikiaR : iaursaliR : islat : serklat.” *Gotlands runinskriften*, 2, G. 216, p. 232.

49 *Södermanlands Runinskrifter*, Sö 360, p. 351.

50 “+ kuplefr + seti : stff : auk : sena : þasi uftiR slakua : sun : sia etaþr : austr · i · karusm · .” *Västmanlands runinskrifter*, ed. Sven Birger Fredrik Jansson (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1964), Vs 1, p. 7 (hereafter cited as *Västmanlands runinskrifter*).

51 *Upplands Runinskrifter*, 1, U 133, p. 198. *Upplands runinskrifter*, 1, U 141, p. 206. *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, Sö 65, p. 50.

52 *Upplands runinskrifter*, 1, U 194, p. 293. *Upplands runinskrifter*, 1, U 241, p. 402. *Upplands runinskrifter*, 2, U 344, p. 80. *Upplands runinskrifter*, vol. 2, U 539, p. 420. *Upplands runinskrifter*, 3, U 616, p. 28. *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, Sö 160, p. 122.

53 *Upplands runinskrifter*, 4, U 978, p. 127. *Smålands runinskrifter*, Sm 5, p. 44. *Smålands runinskrifter*, Sm 29, p. 95. *Östergötlands runinskrifter*, Ög 104, p. 104.

54 “askil : auk : knaupimannr : raistu : stain : þansi : at : brupur : sin : suira : as : uarþ : tauþr · o · eklanti : kuml : kiarþu : þatsi : [kitil slakR].” *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, Sö 46, p. 36.

55 Øysl: *Västmanlands runinskrifter*, Vs 9–10, p. 27. Gærfastr: *Västmanlands runinskrifter*, Vs 18, p. 56.

56 *Upplands runinskrifter*, 1, U 214, p. 326. *Upplands runinskrifter*, 2, U 439, p. 232. *Upplands runinskrifter*, 2, U 582, p. 469. *Gotlands runinskriften*, 1, G 135, p. 269.

57 “ketil : auk + biorn + þaiR + raistu + stain + þin[a] + at + þourstain : faþur + sin + anuntr + at + brupur + sin + auk : hu[skar]laR + hifiR + iafna + ketilau at + buanta sin || brupr uaRþu þaR bistra mana : a : lanti || auk : i : liþi : uti : hiltu sini huskarla : ui- +.” *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, Sö 338, p. 325. “þurtsain × kiarþif × tiR irenmunt × sun sin aukaubti þinsa bu × auk × aflapi × austr × i karþum.” *Upplands runinskrifter*, 1, U 209, p. 316. “alui · lit · risa · stn · þtin · at · arfast ·

pose of these trips, and some examples are provided by mentions of expeditions to Novgorod on G 220, Sö 92, U 687, and Sö 171.⁵⁸

Amongst the runes analyzed, there are also inscriptions which indicate the importance of the merchandise and goods being traded. These however, appear only sporadically, referring primarily to the purpose of the expedition. Stone G 207, is of interest here, and most importantly, stone U 414. The first was erected by Botmund, Botraiv, and Gunnvar. The inscription says that stone was erected to commemorate a relative who was a fur trader.⁵⁹ The second, U 414, refers only to importing directly from Gotland.⁶⁰ An inscription on stone U 379 originating from Sigtuna recounts that an individual named Þorkil, belonged to the merchant community.⁶¹ Inscriptions on stones U 391 and Ög 64 also have analogous meanings.⁶²

The sources of northern European provenance not only highlight the importance of expeditions undertaken by the Scandinavians, but also to a certain extent reflect the range and scale of trade. They also define the purpose of the undertaken trade expeditions and together with oriental texts, they comprise one of the most interesting categories of sources for the history of trade conducted from the 10th to the 12th centuries.

sun sin · hn · fur · ausR · i karþa. *Upplands runinskrifter*, 3, U 636, p. 76. “þiuþulfR : bui : þaiR : raisþu : stain þansi : at : farulf : faþur : sin : han uas antaþ austr : i kaþu.” *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, Sö 148, p. 112. “syniR : liknata - ... arua : merki : kut ebtir : alikni : kunu kopa : mopur : ... s : auk : kiaruataR : auk : liknuiaR : kuþ a-... n : heni : auk : kieruantum : merki : m-... ua : aR : men : sin : ... R : I : karþum : aR : uar : uiue meR : : h....” *Gotlands runinskriften*, eds. Sven Birger Fredrik Jansson and Elias Wessén, 1 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1962), G 114, p. 213 (hereafter cited as *Gotlands Runinskriften* 1). “harþruþr + raisti × stain + þinsa + aiftiR × sun + sin smiþ × trak + kuþan + halfitran + brupiRans × sitr × karþum brantr × riti × iakþu rapa + kann.” *Ölands runinskrifter*, eds. Sven Söderberg and Erik Brate (Stockholm: Norstedt & Söner, 1900–1906), Öl 28, p. 90.

58 *Gotlands runinskriften*, 2, G 220, p. 244. *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, Sö 92, p. 67. Particularly noteworthy is the inscription on the runestone marked as U 687. It mentions Spjallbud, Sveinn, Andvittor, and Ragnar. Spjallbud died in Novgorod in Saint Olaf's Church. “runa · lit kiara · mirki at · sbialbuþa · · at · antuit · auk at · raknaR · suni · sin · uk · ekla · uk · sirip · at · sbialbuþa · bonta sin an uaR · tauþr · i · hulkarþi · i · olafs · kriki · ubiR · risti · ru.” *Upplands runinskrifter*, 3, U 687, p. 193. Similar information is provided on the Sö 171 stone. The inscription commemorates Sigvid, the commander of the ship and the leader of the sailors. *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, Sö 171, p. 132.

59 “butmuntr : auk butraifR : auk : kunu[ar : þaiR : raistu : stain : ... arpi : karþ] auk : sunarla : sat : miþ : skinum : auk : han : entapis : at : ulfshala : þa : [han : hilki ...]” *Gotlands runinskriften*, 2, G 207, p. 203.

60 *Upplands runinskrifter*, 2, U 414, p. 193.

61 *Upplands runinskrifter*, 2, U 379, p. 139.

62 *Upplands runinskrifter*, 2, U 391, p. 162. *Östergötlands runinskrifter*, Ög 64, p. 64.

3.2 Scandinavian Economic Penetration in the Light of Oriental Sources

Several Arabic sources mention trade conducted by Scandinavians.⁶³ They refer to traders using the term *ar-Rus* or *al-Madjuş*.⁶⁴ According to Al-Maqdisi,

63 Reports of trade between the Arab World and Europe provided the bulk of the information appearing in high medieval geographical and travel literature. Urszula Lewicka-Rajewska, *Arabskie opisanie Słowian*. (Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 2004), p. 182 and on the categories of oriental sources, see pp. 17–18. Most of them come from geographic and descriptive works. The dominant in them are the mentions of the ‘ethnic’ relations and ‘economic life’ of the described areas. Taking into account the chronology of the origin and the degree of originality of information contained in Arab writings, it is possible to distinguish three types of oriental sources. The first of them consists of texts dated from the second half of the 8th to the first half of the 9th centuries. These works were compilations, created on the basis of accounts of merchants and Greek sources written down in the early 8th century. The second type of oriental sources is that of texts dated from the second half of the 9th to the end of the 12th centuries, a period known as the ‘Golden Age’ of Arabic literature. Geographical knowledge of the Arabic peoples was at that time replenished on the basis of information taken from the accounts of merchants and travelers, as well as Arab prisoners and slaves who came to the area of the Arab caliphate. Arabic writers also used documentary sources that were created in the offices of high-ranking officials. Along with the development of long-distance exchange, in the texts of Arab authors there is a noticeable increase in the amount of information on trade routes and goods obtained in Central and Eastern Europe. Dated from the second half of the 9th to the end of the 12th centuries, the texts of Oriental authors also contain a number of reports about the price values in force in this area and their conversion factors. The third group of Arab sources is made up of works created from the end of the 12th century. For the most part, they are not original, and the time of their creation is referred to as the ‘epoch of the collapse of Arabic literature.’ The compendia and encyclopedias created at that time are compilations of texts by previous authors or refer only to their abstracts. For orientalists, however, they constitute valuable comparative material, providing the opportunity to supplement missing fragments of known Arab writings. On the geography of the Arab world, see Marina A. Tolmacheva, “Geography,” in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Josef W. Meri, (New York/London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 284–88. Ahmed Nazmi, *Commercial Relations Between Arabs and Slavs* (Warsaw: Academic Publishing House Dialog, 1998), p. 15. Urszula Lewicka-Rajewska, *Arabskie Opisanie Słowian*, p. 27. Tadeusz Lewicki, “Źródła arabskie i hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza,” *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 3 (1958), 61. Bernard Lewis, “The Muslim discovery of Europe,” p. 410. Bernard Lewis, “Die Vorstellungen arabischer Schriftsteller des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts von der Geographie und von den ethnischen Vorstellungen des Osteuropas,” *Der Islam* 35 (1960), 26–41.

64 The mentioned division was connected with the diversity of funeral practices as observed by the Arabs. The term *ar-Rūs* (from Greek Ρως) is derived from the ancient Scandinavian word *rōdr*. It meant rowing, a sea war expedition, or a crew taking part in it. *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, eds. Anna Kmiotowicz, Franciszek Kmiotowicz and Tadeusz Lewicki, 3 (Wrocław/Warsaw/Gdańsk/ Łódź: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich,

through Volga Bulgaria and Khazaria they provided goods desired by Muslim markets. This author lists sable, fish tusks (walrus tusks), arrows, amber, animal furs (squirrels, stoats, martens, weasels, beavers),⁶⁵ *kimucht*,⁶⁶ fish glue, honey, hazelnuts, falcons, swords, and mail (*dar*).⁶⁷ According to the information contained by Al-Maqdisi in *Ahsan al-taqasim fi ma'rifat al-aqalim* (The Best Divisions in the Knowledge of the Regions), Russian merchants also dealt with the transport of Slavic slaves.⁶⁸

News on the Scandinavian merchants' activity was posted in Abu'l-Qasim Ubaydallah ibn Abdallah ibn Khordadbeh (born in 820 or 825 in Khorasan), author of *Kitab al-masalik wa-al-mamalik* (The Book of Roads and Kingdoms).⁶⁹

1985), p. 192. Aleksander Nazarenko, "Rus," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 7, (Stuttgart/Weimar: Brepols Publishers, 1999), p. 1112. Martina Stein-Wilkeshuis, "Scandinavian swearing oaths in tenth century. Russia: Pagans and Christians," *Journal of Medieval History* 28 (2002), 156. The term 'Madjus' in Arabic sources means Scandinavians. The difference between ar-Rus and al-Madjus was related to the different funeral practices of these peoples as observed by the Oriental authors. The tribes belonging to al-Madjus did not observe the cremation rite. Arab authors also considered them as 'fire worshipers'. The term al-Madjus was also used to determine the origin of oriental tribes unknown to the authors. The term meant unknown and barbaric peoples who lived on the edge of the world known to the Arabs, regardless of the actual geographical location of the areas thus described. Arne Melvinger, "Madjus," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*, 5, eds. Clifford E. Bosworth, Emeri van Donzel, Bernard Lewis and Charles Pellat, (Leiden: Brill, 1986), pp. 119–21. In oriental sources, there is a mention of the Majus attack on the city of Nekor in 224 H (858 A.D.). Al-Bekri mentions this episode. Dariusz Rozmus, "A more precise dating of the as-Saqaliba rebellion in the medieval Maghrib," *Folia Orientalia* 32 (1996), 157. Jerzy Hauziński, "O potrzebie nowej edycji Ibrahima ibn Ya'quba at-Turtusi o krajach Środkowej Europy," in *Z Mekki do Poznania: Materiały 5. Ogólnopolskiej Konferencji Arabistycznej, Poznań 9–10 czerwca 1997*, ed. Henryk Jankowski, (Poznań: Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Katedra Orientalistyki i Bałtologii, 1998), p. 110. Maria Kowalska, "The sources of al-Qazwini's Athar al-Bilad," *Folia Orientalia* 8 (1987), 59.

65 For more on the subject of fur trade in Russia, see Janet Martin, *Treasure of the Land of Darkness: The Fur Trade and its Significance for Medieval Russia* (Cambridge/New York/New Rochelle/Melbourne/Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 35–46.

66 Kimucht was a kind of very thin, creased skin from the back of a horse or donkey. The term comes from the Persian language. Footwear made of kimucht is mentioned by Ibn Fadlan. Urszula Lewicka-Rajewska, *Arabskie Opisanie Słowian*, p. 191.

67 Muqqadasi, *Ahsan at-Taqasim fi Ma'rifat il-Aqalim*, ed. Michael J. de Goeje (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum) 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1906), pp. 324–25 (hereafter cited as *Ahsan at-Taqasim fi Ma'rifat il-Aqalim*).

68 *Ahsan at-Taqasim fi Ma'rifat il-Aqalim*, p. 324.

69 Ahmed Nazmi, *The Muslim Geographical Image of the World in the Middle Ages: A Source Study* (Warsaw: Academic Publishing House Dialog, 2007), pp. 28–9. Ibn Khordadbeh also mentions the Russian mission which came to Constantinople to make a covenant with the emperor. Jonathan Shepard, "The Viking Rus and Byzantium," in *The Viking World*, p. 797.

He mentions that the Russian merchants were primarily responsible for transporting furs and swords towards the shores of the Black Sea, paying only customs in the Byzantine area (Kherson in the Crimea).⁷⁰ Ibn Khordadbeh (as well as Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadani) also stressed that they had come to Baghdad in their trade affairs.⁷¹

The author of *The Book of Roads and Kingdoms* recognized *ar-Russiyah* as Slavs. This conviction probably resulted from the fact that the Saqaliba eunuchs performed the functions of translators.⁷² The postal administrator in Baghdad also mentioned that the Rus' who were practicing Christianity were included in the group of *ahlad ad-dimmah* (i.e. one of the five denominations accepted in the caliphate), thanks to which the Rus' staying in the caliphate were obliged only to pay a capitation. This reference may indirectly provide information about the range and scale of trade. According to the list of revenues of the Caliphate in *The Book of Roads and Kingdoms*, the value of the tax paid in the capital of Iraq by Christians and Jews amounted to two hundred thousand *dirhams* per year.⁷³ Ibn al-Faqih mentioned that the analogous tribute collected from merchants staying in Byzantium was equivalent to one *dinar* a year.⁷⁴

Information about Scandinavian economic penetration was also included in the works of other oriental authors. The seventh volume of *Kitab al-a'laq al-nafisa* (*Book of the Precious Records*) by Ibn Rustah mentions that they dealt

70 Adam Silverstein, "Ibn Khurdadbeh," in *Medieval Islamic Civilization*, pp. 359–60. Tadeusz Lewicki identified Ibn Khordadbeh with Abu'l-Qasim Ubaydallah ibn Khurdad al-Khurasani. The researcher also indicated that after the adoption of Islam, the ibn Khordadbeh family received a number of honors. The son of ibn Khordadbeh was appointed the governor of Tabaristan. The peak of Abu'l-Qasim's career came at the beginning of the reign of Al-Mu'tamid. Biographical information about Ibn Khordadbeh is discussed in detail by Tadeusz Lewicki. See *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, ed. Tadeusz Lewicki, 1 (Wrocław/ Cracow: Ossolineum, 1956), pp. 43–56 (hereafter cited as *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*).

71 *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, 1, p. 77.

72 Tadeusz Lewicki, "Osadnictwo słowiańskie i niewolnicy słowiańscy w krajach mużułmańskich według średniowiecznych pisarzy arabskich," *Przegląd Historyczny* 43 (1952), nos. 3–4, 487.

73 *Kitâb al-masâlik wa'l-Mamâlik auctore Abu'l-Kâsim Obaidallah ibn Abdallah Ibn Khordâdhbeh, Accedunt Excerpta e Kitâb Al-Kharâdj Auctore Kodâma ibn Dja'far*, ed. Michael J. de Goeje, (*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*) 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1889), p. 249 and 250 (hereafter cited as *Kitâb al-Masâlik wa'l-Mamâlik*). See *Kitâb al-Masâlik wa'l-Mamâlik*, pp. 191–2.

74 *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, eds. Tadeusz Lewicki, Marian Czapkiewicz, Anna Kmietowicz and Franciszek Kmietowicz, 2, no. 2 (Wrocław/Warsaw/Cracow/ Gdańsk: Ossolineum, 1977), p. 24 and 25 (hereafter cited as *Źródła Arabskie do Dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*).

mainly with the sale of furs (squirrels, white and black foxes, and others), selling them almost exclusively for dirhams.⁷⁵ Ibn Rustah stressed that the Rus' also dealt in the slave trade, importing them from the most remote lands inhabited by *ard-as Saqaliba* (Slavs).⁷⁶

The Book of the Precious Records also testifies to the organized export of oriental coins. They also point to the interest of North European merchants mediating the import of Arabian coins and its further redistribution in Europe.⁷⁷ It is worth noting that the value of numisma was primarily that of noble metal, constituting an element of unilateral commodity exchange. 'White' and 'round' dirhams (and, as Abu Sa'id Gardezi highlighted, not 'cut off' at the edges) were considered sound.⁷⁸ The author of *Zayn al-Akhbar* strongly

75 In addition to a systematic description of astronomical and mathematical geography, an extensive report on the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina is given in the work of Ibn Rustah. His 'Encyclopedia' also includes a fragment with a description of Constantinople and peoples inhabiting areas of Eastern Europe: Khazars, Burtas, Bulgarians, Slavs, Russes, Magyars, and some tribes from the Caucasus. Ibn Rustah also described trade routes across Iraq, Persia, and Arabia, which he traveled during his pilgrimage to Mecca. Written probably after the end of the pilgrimage (and thus in the years 903–913), the 'Encyclopedia' was probably one of the first works of Arab writers to provide information about the areas of Central and Eastern Europe. The works of earlier authors were used in the text by Ibn Rustah, including those of Harun ibn Yahya. At the end of the 9th century, this author stayed in the area of Constantinople, having arrived there as a slave kidnapped by pirates from the city of Antalya. Ibn Yahya gathered information not only about the capital of Byzantium itself, but also about Rome. In Ibn Rustah's fragment of Ibn Yahya's account, a reference is made to the route connecting Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Venice, and Rome. *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, 2, no. 2, pp. 8–12. On trade carried out by the Russians, see *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness: Arab Travellers in the Far North*, transl. Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone (London: Penguin, 2012), pp. 126–27 (hereafter cited as *Arab Travellers in the Far North*). About Ibn Rosteh see Hansgerd Göckenjan, István Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte Über die Völker Osteuropas und Zentralasiens im Mittelalter: Die Gayhani Tradition* (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Asiatica), 54 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), pp. 34–35 (hereafter cited as *Orientalische Berichte über die Völker Osteuropas*).

76 *Arab Travellers in the Far North*, p. 126.

77 Ibn Rustah focused most of his attention on the area of Bulgaria in the Volga region, recognizing marten skins as the greatest source of wealth of Bolghar. Together with the oriental coins they played the role of the medium of exchange. The author stressed that a single skin was the equivalent of two and a half dirhams. He also mentioned bringing 'round white dirhams' to Bulgaria, which were exchanged for the goods sought after on the Muslim markets. *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, 2, no. 2, pp. 34–35.

78 On Abu Sa'id Gardezi's works, see Ewa Chwiłkowska, "Wiadomości perskiego pisarza Gardziego (XI wiek) o ludach wschodniej i środkowej Europy," *Slavia Antiqua* 25 (1978), 141–70. There were two basic categories of silver circulating in Scandinavia. The first one was defined as pure silver and the second one as burned out. The latter was probably an inferior quality metal, likely bearing distinct oxidation marks. It is worth emphasizing

emphasized that the Slavs and the Rus' only sold their goods for dirhams.⁷⁹ Abu Sa'id Gardezi also pointed to a particularity observed by Arabs among peoples living in areas of Northern and Eastern Europe, namely the custom of 'chunking' of numisma. According to him, the coins imported by the Bulgarians were 'broken' into many pieces, and then used as payment for goods offered by the Russes and Slavs.⁸⁰

As it seems, this procedure was aimed primarily at increasing the 'volume', and thus also, apparently, the 'quantity' of metal used as payment. Perhaps this aspect should also be associated with the set of magical-religious procedures described in the literature, aimed at changing the attribution of the object

that in the case of categories of various types of metal *Grágás*, c. 245, p. 192. For the categories of metals, see Ryszard Kiersnowski, "Srebro czyste i najczystsze w Polsce średniowiecznej," *Archeologia Polski* 16 (1971), nos. 1–2, 668–69. References to the categories of purity of metal are also present in numerous Latin sources. For silver—just like the texts of North European provenance—they name two categories: silver and pure silver. Thus, these terms differ from those used in relation to gold, which is defined in Latin sources in three categories, as gold, pure gold, and the purest gold. The last, probably originating from the Byzantine area (also defined as the *aurum optimum*), was primarily the subject of the endowment of church institutions. One example of the occurrence of this metal category is the document issued by Otton 1 for Bishop Hartbert of Chur on October 15, 951. DD O 1, no. 139, p. 219.

- 79 *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, 2, no. 2, p. 92. About the inflow of oriental coins, see W. Łosiński, "Chronologia napływu najstarszej monety arabskiej na terytorium Europy," 112.
- 80 Tadeusz Lewicki, "O cenach niektórych towarów na rynkach wschodniej Europy w IX–XI wieku," *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 1 (1953), nos. 1–2, 112–13. Bulgaria, like Khwarezm, served as an intermediary in the exchange between Russia and the Islamic world. The capital of Volga Bulgaria—Bolghar—was a significant commercial center from which the routes leading to the land of Al-Slawiya (Ladoga, Novgorod) and Kuyaba (Kiev) spread. A note on this subject can be found in the work of Al-Istakhri. Istakhri, ed. Michael J. de Goeje, (*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*) 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1927), pp. 225–26 (hereafter cited as al-Istakhri). The Oriental authors emphasize that the distance from Kiev to Bolghar required twenty days of travel. For example, Ibn Hawqal mentions this (probably after Al-Istakhri). The trade route described by Al-Istakhri, linking Scandinavia and the basin of the Upper Volga, was also known to Adam of Bremen. The author emphasized that the noble metals and furs were the greatest wealth of the Swedes. "*At vero a parte aquilonari reverentibus ad ostium Baltici freti, primi occurrunt Nortmanni, deinde Sconia prominet regio Danorum, et supra eam tenso limite Gothi habitant usque ad Bircam. Postea longis terrarum spatiis regnant Sueones [...] habitare feruntur usque ad Ruzziam.*" Adam, lib. IV, c. 14, p. 242. "*Sunt et aliae interius, quae subiacent imperio Sueonum, quarum vel maxima est illa, quae Churland dicitur; iter habet octo dierum; gens crudelissima proptere nimium ydolatriae cultum fugitur ab omnibus. Aurum ibi plurimum, equi optimi; divinis auguribus atque nigromanticis omnes domus plenae sunt [qui etiam vestitu monachico induti sunt]. A toto orbe ibi responsa petuntur, maxime ab Hispanis et Grecis.*" Adam, lib. IV, c. 16, pp. 242–43.

(through its destruction). This kind of approach may also suggest the perception of commercial transactions in terms of gift and counter-gift.⁸¹

The phenomenon described by Abu Sa'īd Gardezi can also be seen in terms of economic attempts aimed at devaluing the coin.⁸² This aspect also refers to the degree to which market saturation in coins (and noble metal coins) occurred alongside commodity money. At the same time, it seems that these aspects defined the relations between supply and demand for silver, and how its exchange value related to other media of exchange. This is best demonstrated by specific references in contemporary Arabic sources. Abu Sa'īd Gardezi (similarly to earlier Ibn Rustah evaluating the value of a single 'dalah' for two and a half dirhams) speaking about 'skins' of martens, clearly indicated that in Bulgaria one such skin was equivalent to two dirhams. The author of *Zayn al-Akhbar* also stressed that fur money was considered a measure of the Bulgarians' wealth (*awal sumita*, 'wealth'—literally, a dead property: gold, silver, what is made of precious metal).⁸³ Ibn Hawqal also mentions the activities of the Ruthenian merchants, that both the Rus' and the Bulgarians were mainly involved in bringing furs to Khazaria.⁸⁴ According to Al-Masudi,

81 In the practice of cutting silver researchers see magical operations on the one hand, and on the other they point out the economic mechanisms at work behind the process. On the gifts made of valuable objects, see Maurice Godelier, *Zagadka daru* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2010), p. 91. Referring to the aspect of the occurrence of segmented silver, Paweł Żmudzki drew attention to the Ibn Fadlan's account, in which the ruler of the Bulgarians, accepting coins from the Caliph Al-Muqtadir, also took a share of his wealth Paweł Żmudzki, "Mieszko I i Amazonki. Wspólnoty wojownicze i normy życia rodzinnego w relacji Ibrahima ibn Jakuba," in *Tekst źródła: Krytyka, interpretacja*, ed. Barbara Trelińska, (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2005), p. 117.

82 Stanisław Suchodolski emphasizes that the custom of cutting coins when their value is too high in relation to the commercial transactions being carried out, and the practice of chunking—and thus, 'monetizing' silver ornaments—in the absence of any other means to execute the transaction remains a common phenomenon. Stanisław Suchodolski, *Numizmatyka średniowieczna: Moneta źródłem archeologicznym, historycznym i ikonograficznym* (Warsaw: Trio, 2012), p. 235. Gert Hatz represents a similar position, believing that the custom of chunking coins must be seen through the prism of weighted silver. In his opinion, many finds of scales and weights can also testify to this. Gert Hatz, "Der Handel in der späten Wikingerzeit zwischen Nordeuropa (insbesondere Schweden) und dem Deutschem Reich nach numismatischen Quellen," in *Der Handel Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit*, p. 87. Brita Malmer takes a similar position. Brita Malmer, "Der „Münzumlauf“ Gotlands in der Wikingerzeit und die Verbindungen zum ostbaltischem Gebiet" in *Die Verbindungen zwischen Skandinavien und Ostbaltikum aufgrund der archäologischen Quellenmaterialien*, p. 116.

83 Tadeusz Lewicki, "O cenach niektórych towarów," pp. 112–13.

84 *Arab Travellers in the Far North*, p. 175. On the power of Khazars and the trade being conducted through them, see Thomas S. Noonan, "Some observations on the economy

through them, the fur-bearing animal skins went to the Maghreb area. Among them, the ‘skins of black and red foxes’ were the most valued.⁸⁵

Of particular importance is a text by Ahmad ibn Fadlan, the envoy of Caliph Al-Muqtadir to the ruler of Bulgarians, Almiş. Written in 921–922 *Kitab Ibn Fadlan Ibn Rashid Ibn Hammad. Mawla Muhammad Ibn Sulayman Rasul al-Muqtadir ila Malik al-Saqaliba* contains information not only about what was traded with the Muslim World, but also how the exchange was conducted.⁸⁶

of Khazar Khaganate,” in *The World of the Khazars: New Perspectives: Selected Papers from the Jerusalem 1999 International Khazar Colloquium*, eds. Peter B. Golden, Haggai Ben-Shammai and András Róna-Tas, (Handbuch der Orientalistik) 17 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 207–44. Khazaria—likewise the areas of the Danubian Bulgaria—was an area of direct economic influence of Byzantium. Veselina Vachkova, “Danube Bulgaria and Khazaria as parts of byzantine oikoumene,” in *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*, eds. Florin Curta and Roman Kovalev, (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 339–59. Ibn Rustah’s account refers to the trade conducted by the Russians with Khazaria and Byzantium. He also pointed to the direction of exports of castrated Saqaliba in Muslim Spain. Manfred W. Wenner, “The Arab/Muslim presence in medieval Central Europe,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 12 (1980), no. 1, 62. The non-castrated slaves from the Slavic areas were imported by the Franks, Spanish Galicia, the Lombards or through Calabria. Some of them were brought directly to Khorasan by the Russians. Urszula Lewicka-Rajewska, *Arabskie opisanie Slowian*, p. 66.

85 *Arab Travellers in the Far North*, pp. 160–61. Al Al-Mas’udi remains one of the most important oriental authors. His immense erudition and travel experience are clearly visible in his works. Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn al-Husayn ibn Ali al-Mas’udi is known primarily for two works: *Muruj al-Dhahab* and *Tanbih*. In the first, he uses nearly one hundred and sixty works as sources of information. Al-Mas’udi was born in Baghdad to a Kufic family. He traveled extensively, including to India and Persia, and reached Ceylon and China. In 918–926 he traveled to Iraq and Syria, then to Armenia, the Caspian coast, and Egypt. It is worth emphasizing that he is considered one of the most credible oriental authors. Charles Pellat, “Al-Masudi,” in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 784.

86 More on the manuscripts of the work of Ibn Fadlan, see *Ibn Fadlan’s Reisebericht*, ed. Ahmed Zeki Validi Togan (Leipzig: Klaus Reprint, 1939), pp. VII–XIII (hereafter cited as Ibn Fadlan’s Reisebericht). See also Karl Czegledy, Zur “Mescheder Handschrift von Ibn Fadlans Reisebericht,” *Acta Orientalia* 1 (1951), nos. 2–3, 217–60. Upon finding the text ‘Risala’, which contained information on the geography, customs, history and economic phenomena observed among the peoples inhabiting the north-eastern areas of Europe, it very quickly became an object of interest of researchers. There are many English translations of the account. The most important translations of the account include works of Joseph Anderson, Albany F. Major and James E. Montgomery. Joseph Anderson, “Description by Ahmed Ibn-Fozlan of the ceremonies of the dead body of a Norse chief, written in the early part of the tenth century. Translated from the Homboe’s Danish version of the Arabic original, with notes on the origin cremation, and its continuance,” *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 9 (1870/1872), 518–26. Albany F. Major, “Ship Burials in Scandinavian lands and the beliefs that underlie them,” *Folk-lore. Translations of the Folk-Lore Society* 35 (1924) no. 49, 113–50. James E. Montgomery, “Ibn Fadlan and the Russiyah,” *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 3 (2000), 5–22. Ture J. Arne, “Ibn Fadlans resa till Bulgar. En nypuptäckt handskrift,” *Fornvännen*:

This account is probably one of the most well-known Arabic sources of our times. Ibn Fadlan describes the observed practice of the sacrifices made by the Rus' to guarantee success in trade.⁸⁷ He also points to the characteristics of places of trade, emphasizing the dimensions of relationships based on the importance of accompanying magical and religious practices, as well as the contact between economic thinking (the Arab merchants) and the religious-symbolic way of thinking. According to the book, trade took place at the confluence of rivers and on river islands.⁸⁸

These locations functioned as central trade stations, guaranteeing additional security of relations between the exchange participants.⁸⁹ Such relations referred directly to how the "us vs them" dichotomy operated, as mentioned in the literature, and the guaranteed neutrality and security of places where traders meet. It is worth noting that other oriental authors mention the functional importance of these trading places, and one example is provided by the Al-Masudi work.⁹⁰ Recalling the attack of the Rus' on the coast of Azerbaijan, the author mentions the 'commercial islands' of Rus'.⁹¹

Also interesting is a later group of authors on exchange between North European merchants and the Arab World, and trade-related practices. These include the works of Al-Biruni, Al-Marwazi, and a text by Abu Hamid al-Andalus Al Garnati. Al-Biruni mentions the custom of 'quiet barter' trading where there was no direct contact between those engaged in the exchange.⁹² Merchants participated in this, heading out in their dugouts for twenty days from the area of Bolghar. In turn, Al-Marwazi not only describes looting expeditions of the Russes and the commercial islands they inhabited, but he also provides information about the Scandinavian merchants' journey to the capital of Byzantium.⁹³

Journal of Swedish Antiquarian Research 36 (1941), 193–96. The Polish edition of Ibn Fadlan's account was published in 1958 by Cracovian orientalists—Anna and Franciszek Kmietowicz, and Tadeusz Lewicki. *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, eds. Anna Kmietowicz, Franciszek Kmietowicz, Tadeusz Lewicki, 3 (Wrocław/Warsaw, Gdańsk/Łódź: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1985) (hereafter cited as *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*).

87 *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, 3, p. 110.

88 *Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht*, pp. 82–6.

89 Christian Lübke, *Fremde im östlichen Europa*, pp. 146–8. *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, 3, p. 201.

90 *Arab Travellers in the Far North*, pp. 144–46.

91 On Al-Mas'udi's works, see Maria Kowalska, "Al-Masudi's Stellung in Geschichte der arabischen Literatur," *Folia Orientalia* 32 (1996), 117–18.

92 He mentioned the analogous practice in the clothing trade among Sri Lankan residents. *Arab Travellers in the Far North*, p. 179.

93 *Arab Travellers in the Far North*, pp. 182–83.

Finally, there is also a particularly fascinating account regarding the journey of Abu Hamid al-Andalus al-Garnati from Volga Bulgaria to Russia—and from there towards the area of modern Hungary.⁹⁴ It is worth noting that via the trade route described by the author (leading through Rus, Khwarezm, and Persia) one could even reach Baghdad.⁹⁵ The source recounts the travels of a merchant originating from Granada, as he wandered through the lands inhabited by Magyars (among whom the author spent three years), and is significant for containing detailed information regarding the exchange value of goods like cattle, sheep, goats, and honey. One *dinar* could purchase twenty pieces of fine cattle or thirty sheep or goats, and it was also good for 500 *ratls* of honey (about 180 kg).⁹⁶

The source also contains valuable information on the slave trade. According to Abu Hamid, a ‘beautiful slave woman’ was worth ten dinars, and he noted that during times of war, the price of slaves dramatically decreased as the supply of slaves—often captured in battle—increased. Hamid recounts that three dinars was sufficient to purchase an ‘excellent slave’ or a Rhum (a name for people from the Byzantine territory) and he further boasts with pride that he bought a slave ‘whose skin was white like camphor,’ and payed for her no less than ten dinars. The source also recounts her value based on the skills she possessed at the time of purchase. The slave, acquired from the Magyars, was able to cook, sew, count and she could also separate honey from wax. The author stresses that he freed her, taking her as his wife and giving her the name Miriam.

The text by Abu Hamid also includes a reference to a ten-year-old Rhum (Byzantine) slave girl whom he bought, paying for her five dinars. He also mentioned that two pitchers of honey and wax were equivalent to half a dinar. There are also descriptions of customs related to the preparation and circulation of fur money in Rus.⁹⁷ It is worth emphasizing that both the control of

94 Ivan Hrbek, “Ein arabischer Bericht über Ungarn”, *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 5 (1955), no. 3, 205–30. Tadeusz Lewicki, “Węgry i muzułmanie węgierscy w świetle relacji z XII wieku. Abu Hamid al-Andalusi’ego i al-Garnati’ego,” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 13 (1937), 106–22.

95 On the trade routes leading to Baghdad, see Tadeusz Lewicki, “Ze studiów nad źródłami arabskimi,” *Slavia Antiqua* 3 (1951/1952), 160–176.

96 *Arab Travellers in the Far North*, p. 81. In the Al-Garnati weight system used in the text, the *ratla* was equivalent to 346 g. On the weight value in the Arab world, see Walther Hinz, *Islamische Maße und Gewichte umgerechnet ins metrische System* (Leiden: Brill, 1955). Ana Ramos, *Abu Hamid al Andalusí al Garnatí, Tuhfat al-albab* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991), p. 15. Charlotte Warnke, “Der Handel mit Wachs zwischen Ost- und Westeuropa im frühen und hohen Mittelalter,” in *Der Handel Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit*, pp. 545–69.

97 *Arab Travellers in the Far North*, p. 75 and pp. 80–1.

production and the local distribution method remained directly dependent on the prince and his apparatus of power.⁹⁸

3.3 Trade on the Balkan Peninsula Territory

Until the second half of the 10th century, the Balkan Peninsula remained an area of rivalry between Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire.⁹⁹ This rivalry not only exerted significant influence on socio-cultural changes taking place in this period, but also determined several economic transformations related to the functioning of the production and redistribution system, and the development of far-reaching exchange.¹⁰⁰ This exchange was mainly related to the impact of the southern trade route.¹⁰¹ Of importance to the peoples living in the central Danube was military oversight over the Danube trade and nodal routes leading to the capital of the Eastern Empire. This was not only a guarantee of

98 On the formation of early state organisms and the apparatus of power that supervised the distribution of goods, see Anna Ciesielska, "Od „plemienia do państwa” czy od „wodzostwa do państwa”? Modele procesów państwowotwórczych i nowe tendencje w ich badaniu," in *Instytucja wczesnego państwa w perspektywie wielości i różnorodności kultur*, pp. 63–6.

99 On the genesis of the rivalry between the region of Bulgarians and the Eastern Empire, see Panos Sophoulis, *Byzantium and Bulgaria 775–831* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 89–96. In the case of the influence of the Eastern Empire, one can point to three direct zones of Byzantine influence. The first of them was the eastern areas of the Mediterranean and those located directly by the Black Sea. The second area of influence was that of Asia Minor, Armenia, Georgia, and Mesopotamia, while the third was the Balkan Peninsula up to Sava and Danube. It is worth noting that for the Eastern Empire, the area of Thrace and part of mainland Greece were of central importance. Johannes Koder, *Vizantijski svet: Uvod u istorijsku geografiju istočnog Mediterana tokom vizantijske epohe* (Beograd: Utopija, 2011), pp. 11–2.

100 Later, the Balkans remained under the direct influence of the Eastern Empire, copying from it the known patterns of exchange organization and the functioning of economic life in this area. Josef Matl, *Bauer und Grundherr in der Geschichte der Balkanvölker: Von der Agrar- zur Industriegesellschaft: Sozialer Wandel auf dem Lande in Südosteuropa*, (*Osteuropa: interdisziplinäre Monatszeitschrift zur Analyse von Politik, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Kultur und Zeitgeschichte in Osteuropa, Ostmitteleuropa und Südosteuropa*), 2 (Darmstadt: Hoppenstedt, 1968), p. 2. Alan Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900–1200* (New York/Port Chester/Melbourne/Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 80–119.

101 Its significance is also confirmed by the finds of Scandinavian imports. Valeri Yotov, "The Vikings in the Balkans (tenth to 11th centuries). Strategic and tactical changes. New archeological data on weaponry," *Archeologia Baltica* 8 (2007), 321–28.

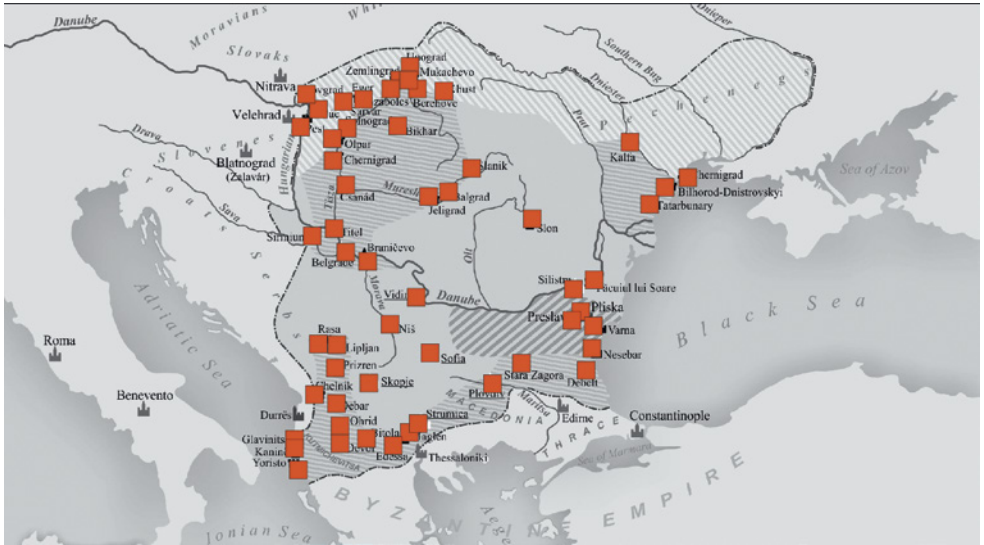


FIGURE 3.1 Territorial structure of the first Bulgarian state in the period from the 9th to the 10th centuries

income derived from trade, but also a source of power and prestige of the elite of the time.¹⁰²

This can be testified by the military conflicts with Byzantium that took place in the times of Boris (died 2 May 907) and Simeon (865/866–927). Their origin is associated with an attempt to alter the course of the trade carried out by Byzantine merchants with Bulgarians, from Constantinople to Thessaloniki. It is worth noting that the latter was located at a considerable distance from the main political and economic centers of Bulgaria-Prslav and Pliska.¹⁰³ The

102 The importance of the Danube trail is evidenced by a mention in the *Tale of Bygone Years*. It mentions the aspirations of Sviatoslav to transfer the capital of Russia to Pereiaslavetz, famous for its wealth. *Poviest Wriemiennykh Let*, ed. Dmitrij Likhačev, 1 (Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1950), 969, p. 246 (hereafter cited as *Poviest*).

103 Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans 900–1204* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 21. The richness of these centers can be found in archaeological finds, which also indicate the transformations taking place in this area. See Joachim Henning, "The metropolis of Pliska or, how large does an early medieval settlement have to be in order to be called a city," in *Byzantium, Pliska, and the Balkans: Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, ed. Joachim Henning, (Millennium Studies), 2 (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 216–30. Perica Špehar, "Remarks to Christianisation and realms in the central Balkans in the light of archeological finds (7th–11th C.)," in „*Castellum, Civitas, Urbs*": Zentren

attempt by the Byzantines to reorient the direction of trade led to a conflict. It seems that it was also caused by Byzantium's efforts to reduce the importance of the economic capital of Simeon. Following the victory of Bulgarians, Byzantium was obliged to pay an annual tribute, and trade between Bulgarian and Byzantine merchants returned to the capital of the Empire.¹⁰⁴

In this way, Simeon guaranteed not only continuity of the exchange, but also access to goods like silk, semi-precious stones, and noble metals. The victory of the ruler of the Bulgarians was not only of political and economic importance; it was also an element enabling the consolidation of his power.¹⁰⁵ At the same time, it seems that both the military expeditions undertaken by Bulgarians against Byzantium and the role of the said agreement can be perceived analogously to the significance of trade treaties concluded by the Eastern Empire with Ruthenia, or through the prism of later trade agreements with Venice.¹⁰⁶

Victor Spinei highlights that the development of trade between Byzantium and the area of the Balkan Peninsula (during the Byzantine expansion period) is confirmed by the distinct increase in the number of imports dated to the first half of the tenth century.¹⁰⁷ Among them (especially in the areas of the central

und Eliten im frühmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa, Castellum Panonicum Pelsonense, pp. 71–91.

- 104 Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, pp. 21–2. Tschavdar Kirilov, *Die Stadt des Frühmittelalters in Ost und West: Archäologische Befunde Mitteleuropas im Vergleich zur östlichen Balkanhalbinsel* (Studien zur Archäologie Europas), 3 (Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2006), pp. 122–50.
- 105 At the same time, it is worth noting that trade between Byzantium and Bulgaria was based on monetary exchange Florin Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages 500–1250* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 219.
- 106 On the trade agreements of 'all of Russia' with the area of the Eastern Empire, see *Poviest*, 912, pp. 25–6. It is worth noting that the texts of trade agreements concluded with the area of the Eastern Empire mention names of merchants sent directly by the *knjaz*: Adun, Adulb, Iggvlad, Uleb, Frutan, Gomol, Kutsi, Emig, Turobid, Furosten, Bruny, Roald, Gunastr, Frasten, Igeld, Turbern, Mone, Ruald, Sven, Stir, Aldan, Tilen, Apubeksar, Vuzlev, Sinko, and Borich. *Poviest*, 945, pp. 34–35. On the importance of trade centers of Russia and their connections with the area of the Eastern Empire based on the finds of imports, see Nikolaj Makarov, "Rural settlement and trade networks in northern Russia, A.D. 900–1250," in *Byzantine Trade, 4th–12th Centuries: The Archeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange: Papers of the Thirty-eight Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St John's College, University of Oxford, March 2004*, (Publications of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies), 14 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 459–61. On the importance of Venice, see Shepard B. Clough and Charles W. Cole, *The Economic History of Europe* (Boston: D.C. Heath & Company, 1952), pp. 61–4.
- 107 Victor Spinei, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-thirteenth Century* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), p. 240.

Danube) the presence of Byzantine ceramics and objects made of iron is evident. According to Marlia Mundell Mango, this aspect can also be seen in the spread of numisma from the territory of the Eastern Empire.¹⁰⁸ The chronology of the transformations observed in archaeological sources also coincides with the growing role of the area of present-day Croatia.¹⁰⁹ It seems that it can be proved not only by the presence of silver deposits in the area, but also by a significant increase in the number of gold and silver finds. The influence of the Eastern Empire was also evident in a strong imitation of the style and decoration of silver ornaments. Vladimir Sokol highlights that in the analyzed source material coming from this period, the presence of silver jewelry referring to the Byzantine style is clearly marked.¹¹⁰ It should be emphasized, however, that some silver items, usually funerary goods, were produced locally, in such centers as Žminj, Otok, Dubrovnik, Mogorjelo, and Žitomislčić. This phenomenon was accompanied by a sharp increase in the number of imports in the listed exchange centers. It seems that their presence in the indicated area testifies to the importance of this category of goods for the formation of new power elites, for whom deriving direct benefits from trade and enforcing the system of rents and tributes was one of the determinants of maintaining power, in addition to serving as a form of external manifestation of social status.¹¹¹ They were directly interested in exchange with the Byzantine area and a set of coastal centers located in Italy. The economic presence within the indicated trade routes guaranteed the inhabitants of the seaside centers in Dalmatia access to numerous

108 Marila M. Mango, "Tracking Byzantine silver and copper metalware 4th–12th centuries," in *Byzantine Trade, 4th–12th Centuries*, pp. 232–33. It is worth emphasizing that in the area of the Balkan Peninsula, about 1,500 numismatic items made of silver and gold were found dating from the so-called 'Dark Ages'. They came mainly from Byzantium. The biggest concentration of coin finds is the middle Danube region. Florin Curta, "Byzantium in dark-age Greece (the numismatic evidence in its Balkan context)," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 29 (2005), no. 2, 115. See also Florin Curta, "Invasion or inflation? Sixth- to seventh-century byzantine coin hoards in Eastern and Southeastern Europe," *Annali dell' Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 43 (1996), 69–173. The influence of the area of the Eastern Empire on ornamentation and stylistics of silver ornaments is also discussed by Huw M.A. Evans. See Huw M.A. Evans, *The Early Medieval Archeology of Croatia A.D. 600–900*. (B.A.R. International Series), 539 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 207–8.

109 Florin Curta, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archeology of the Lower Danube Region c. 500–700* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 227–48.

110 Vladimir Sokol, *Medieval Jewelry and Burial Assemblages in Croatia: A Study of Graves and Grave Goods ca. 800 to ca. 1450* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), p. 236.

111 Wojciech Dzieduszycki, *Kruszce w systemach wartości*, p. 153.

luxury goods: exotic foods, clothes made of silk and dyed fabrics, wines, spices, and weapons.¹¹²

In the Balkan Peninsula, the system of ancient Roman roads, referred to by the Slavs living in the Balkans as ‘Trajan’s roads’, also played a significant economic role (it was probably the name used for all roads paved with stone). They were also called the *strata antiqua* and were used in the trade activity not only by such centers as Dubrovnik, but also by Zadar, famous for the slave trade, and by Split.¹¹³

The possibility of importing silver, which was primarily intended for further processing, was another important factor. Stanko Guldescu believes the real ‘economic expansion’ of what today is Croatia took place during the reign of Tomislav of the Trpimirović Dynasty.¹¹⁴ This should be associated with the desire of the Croat ruler to expand his commercial fleet. According to Guldescu, the economic presence of Croatian merchants—both on the Adriatic and the Mediterranean Sea—led not only to the growth of the military and economic power of the dynasty, but also to the coronation of Tomislav himself.¹¹⁵

A note on the role of subordinate merchants is found in the writings of Constantine Porphyrogenetos,¹¹⁶ who mentions that the fleet belonging to the ruler of the Croats counted eighty great ships and one hundred smaller boats.¹¹⁷ Sean Kingsley highlights that this is also supported by archaeological finds of shipwrecks of vessels used to transport goods from the Eastern Empire.¹¹⁸ Additionally, there is a set of source texts defining the scale and scope of trade. They point to the importance of such goods as salt, wax, honey, expensive fabrics, animal furs, gold, and slaves.¹¹⁹ The significance of the last (for the area of Bulgaria) is emphasized by research of Yanko M. Hristov.¹²⁰

112 On the importance of the system of redistribution of wealth and economic power, see Przemysław Urbańczyk, *Władza i polityka*, p. 28.

113 Gavro Škrivanić, *Putevi u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade: Turistička štampa, 1974), p. 18.

114 On the importance of Dubrovnik, see Robin Harris, *Dubrovnik: A History* (London: Saqi, 2003), pp. 33–46.

115 Stanko Guldescu, *The History of Medieval Croatia* (Hague: Mouton&CO, 1964), pp. 116–7. In this context, the document issued by John x for Tomislav is also of interest. *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 24, pp. 33–4.

116 Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus et de administrando Imperio*, ed. Barthold G. Niebuhr, (Bonn: Academiae Literaturae Historiae Borussiae, 1840), c. 31, p. 150 (hereafter cited as Constantine Porphyrogenitus).

117 *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, c. 31, p. 151.

118 37 wrecks have been found in today’s Croatia. Sean Kingsley, “Mapping trade by shipwrecks,” in *Byzantine Trade, 4th–12th Centuries*, p. 34.

119 Hartmut Hoffmann, “Kirche und Sklaverei im frühen Mittelalter,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 42 (1986), 17.

120 Yanko M. Hristov, “Prisoners of war in early medieval Bulgaria (preliminary remarks),” *Studia Ceranea* 5 (2015), 73–8.

The preserved source material indicates that the slaves acquired in the Balkan Peninsula were a subject of interest not only of Jewish traders, but also of the Byzantine and Venetian merchants. This is seen in the regulations dating from 960 regarding the sale of non-free, defined in the sources by the terms *mancipia* and *servi*.¹²¹ It is worth noting that their sale outside the regnum's borders was forbidden by a set of synod resolutions which also transferred this group of non-free into the category of dependent population. This group was most important for production.¹²² The demand for slaves generated by the Arab World and Byzantium, however, remained so large that the slave trade continued on an immense scale. This is confirmed by references in Constantine Porphyrogenetos' works, who mentions an instance where crowds of prisoners were led away by slave traders along the shores of the Black Sea.¹²³

A set of documents indicating the wealth of such centers as Zadar and Salona is especially notable regarding the trade in the Balkan Peninsula. In a diploma issued on August 15, 999, for the cathedral church in Zadar, emoluments were given in salt, silk, and items made of iron.¹²⁴ In turn, among the goods donated by the nobles coming from Zadar to Saint Chrysostom, an endowment was made of a continuous supply of fish.¹²⁵ The monastery in Zadar received not only land, but also a permanent stipend in the amount of one hundred *solidi*.¹²⁶ In turn, in the 1050–1055 diploma issued by Petrus Slaba, there is a reference to a tribute of one hundred and ten 'Greek solidi' to Saint Benedict in Dubrovnik.¹²⁷

Among the documents of interest from the Dalmatian Solin is a set of diplomas issued for the Church of Saint Michael. Emoluments were primarily

121 "Item precipimus, ut quicumque in nauibus nostris nauclerus fuerit, nullatenus debeat in nauī sua leuare mancipia, neque de Venetiis, neque de Histria, neque de Dalmatia, neque de ullis alliis locis per nullum ingenium, nec etiam aliquis hominem negociantem uel Iudeum in nauī sua leuare non debeat. Item statuētes statuimus, ut nullus Veneticus suum pretium ad quemlibet Grecum hominem dare debeat unde mancipia emant. Et nullus Veneticus audeat ultra Polam mancipia detrasportare neque in terram Grecorum neque in nullis locis ea donare, excepto si acciderit, ut de sua capiuitate se redimere debeat aut pro tali causa unde damnum ad crescat in patria aut pro causa palatii." *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 29, pp. 43–4.

122 "Koblenz 922," in *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens 916–1001*, eds. Ernst-Dieter Hehl and Horst Fuhrmann, MGH Conc. 6.1 (1987), c. 7, p. 70. "Synodus Ingelheimensis Ottonis I. constitutiones," in *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH Const. 1 no. 5 (a. 948), c. 9, p. 11.

123 *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, c. 9, pp. 76–9.

124 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 33, p. 49.

125 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 34, p. 50.

126 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 49, p. 68.

127 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 59, p. 80.

monetary silver and land intended for cultivation.¹²⁸ It seems that the donations made to Saint Stephen's monastery in Split also had an analogous meaning. In this case, liturgical vessels made of pure silver were the object of endowment.¹²⁹

Edgar Hösch highlights that the economic penetration made by Venetian merchants was very important for the Balkan Peninsula.¹³⁰ This aspect seems to be significant first for the perception of the economic importance of the Dalmatian Coast, which came under the direct influence of Venice in approximately year 1000.¹³¹ It is worth noting that the transformations taking place at that time can be associated with the peak of economic prosperity and the development of trade between Western Europe and the Byzantine and Arab World. For the Venetian Doges, who from the year 1004 were also princes of

128 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 35, pp. 51–2. *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 36, p. 53.

129 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 43, p. 60.

130 Edgar Hösch, *Geschichte der Balkanländern* (Stuttgart/Berlin/Cologne/Mentz: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1968), pp. 45–51.

131 From the second half of the 11th century, relations with the Normans were also of particular importance. This is evidenced by the document issued in 1075. He points to an attempt to protect the economic interests of Venice and Dalmatian cities, which were in favor of introducing a ban on the presence of Normans in the area of Dalmatia. It is worth emphasizing that it also indicates the practice of monopolizing trade through the functioning of a kind of commercial and military consortia in areas forming a network of economic links between centers supervising the transit of goods between the Byzantine and Levant areas and Western European territories. "*Promittentes promittimus nos prior Spalatine ciuitatis uidelicet Sipephano Vualiza nomine atque Gaudinus tribunus, Dominicus Marra, Ioannes Pitipano, Petrus filius Domnii. Desa filius Cocini, aliusque Desa, Michael, Stephanus, Nichiphorus, Domnius Drasi, Forminus Salate cum vniuersis nostris conciuibus maioribus et minoribus nec non et prior Tragurine ciuitatis Vitalis nomine et Petrus Bela, Georgius Bogaboici, Joannes Chudi, Sabacius archidiaconus, Desa, Andreas, Dominicus, Desa, Kirnia, cum cunctis nostris cumciuibus maioribus et minoribus nostre, ciuitatis atque Candidus, prior Iaderensis ciuitatis, et Madius Sega iudex, Nichiphorus, Serrius, Zella, madius Gallus, Dabro Strincia, Ioannes spatato candidato, Lampridius, Madinus Martini, Valentinus Speri Pracho, Andreas camerrarii ac vniuersi nostri cum ciuibus maioribus et minoribus atque prior de Belgrado Dominicus Justus Veneticus, Gregorius frater episcopi, Petrigna de Proboi Armati, Drago de Castricia, Michael de Vtecha, Prestantius Petrigne Anastasii, Michael de Diach. vero atque omnes consiues nostre ciuitatis uobis domno Dominico Siluio, duci Venetie et Dalmatie ac imperiali protoprophedro et seniori nostro, vt ab hac die in antea quatenus nullus nostrorum ciuium audeat adducere Normannos aut extrancos in Dalmatiam aut per se ipsum uel quouis ingenio. Si quis autem huius sceleris preuaricator inuentus fuerit et se legitime excusare non poterit, amittat vitam suam et quicquid possidet in hoc seculo, medietatem in camera ducis et medietatem ciuibus, qua in ciuitate preuaricator inuentus fuerit per iudicem et per Romanum legem, que in presenti pagina scripta esse videtur in quarto capitulo eiusdem legis.*" *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 108, pp. 137–38.

Venetians and Dalmatians, this double title was a source of enormous income. It seems that it was primarily related to the slave trade carried out via Venetian merchants. This aspect was highlighted in the research of Charles Verlinden.¹³² Also interesting is the work of Vera Hrochova pointing out the production importance of non-free servants brought to the Byzantine areas.¹³³

It is worth noting that by mediating in the exchange with the areas of the Eastern Empire, the merchants from Venice also received a few privileges, among which one of the most important was the right acquired in 1082 to a permanent trading presence in the Byzantine towns.¹³⁴ According to Ronald Findlay, this was analogous to the commercial privileges granted to Venetian merchants for their support of Byzantium in their conflict with the Normans.¹³⁵

The economic significance of the areas located on the Adriatic can be demonstrated by the fiscal obligations imposed by the Venetians on trading centers in Dalmatia. Inhabitants of the islands of Rab and Krk on the Adriatic Sea handed over tribute mainly in silk and gold.¹³⁶ This tribute amounted to a staggering fifty libras of pure gold per year, equivalent to almost nineteen kilograms of gold. Similar amounts were also provided by the inhabitants of Osor, located between the islands of Cres and Losinj.¹³⁷ In addition, Osor's inhabitants were also obliged to transfer weasel furs and coats.¹³⁸

Also of interest is a document issued in 1064 for the monastery in Trogir, as the monks residing there were endowed with iron and all the 'goods necessary for the functioning of the monastery'.¹³⁹ Attention is also drawn to a gift donated by the inhabitants of Zadar in wax and wax candles, equivalent to twenty solidi per year.¹⁴⁰ In 1066–1067, the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary received the right to collect customs duties from merchants coming to this center.¹⁴¹

132 Charles Verlinden, "Wo, wann und warum gab es einen Großhandel mit Sklaven während des Mittelalters," *Kölner Vorträge zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 11 (1970), 7–8. On the functioning of relict trails and slave trade within the so-called South trade route, see Klaus Landsborg, "The town, the power and the land: Denmark and Europe during the first millennium A.D.," in *Centre and Periphery*, pp. 18–21.

133 Vera Hrochova, *Aspects des Balkans médiévaux* (Prague: Universita Karlova, 1989), pp. 16–7.

134 Edgar Hösch, *Geschichte der Balkanländern*, p. 55.

135 Ronald Findlay, *Globalization and the European Economy: Medieval Origins to the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Springer, 2002), p. 12.

136 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 37, p. 54 and no. 38, p. 55.

137 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 40, p. 57.

138 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 39, p. 56.

139 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 70, pp. 98–9.

140 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 76, p. 103.

141 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 77, p. 105.

The nature of the endowment granted should be emphasized here, which in the earlier period was almost exclusively the domain of the royal regale. In the Balkan Peninsula, donations made to monastic centers only sporadically granted them the right to collect customs duties and supervise exchange. The trade was concentrated in centers such as Zadar, Split, and Dubrovnik.¹⁴² In the case of Church institutions in the Balkans, emoluments transferred in the form of land and services provided to individual monasteries by the local population were of prime significance.¹⁴³ Land was also an object of trade. Of interest here is a document issued in 1066 by Cicca, the Abbess of the abbey in Zara. She acquired a significant parcel of land, the value of which was equivalent to the price of a horse and forty *solidi*.¹⁴⁴ She is also mentioned in a charter dated 1070–1072. The document stresses that Cicca acquired new properties for the abbey of Saint Mary.¹⁴⁵ A document issued by Abbot Peter for the Abbey of Saint Ivan had a similar function.¹⁴⁶

The monastic centers and related estates in the Balkan Peninsula were not only production centers, they provided centralized supervision for the control of important goods such as salt, tanned and crusted leather, iron, and wax. One testament to this controlling practice is a document issued in 950 by Krešimir for the monastery of Saint Martin, Saint Stephen, and the Virgin Mary, in which the ruler granted the right to use the *salines*, and allowed a salt trade.¹⁴⁷ The donations made by Drago of Zadar to the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus were similar. In a document issued on November 24, 1095, he transferred salt and fish obtained by the inhabitants of Vrgada to this monastic center. He also undertook to transfer income derived from trade.¹⁴⁸ It seems, however, that trade was primarily of local importance. The salt obtained in the Vrgada

142 On the character of the urban centers in the Balkans and their functioning, see Francis W. Carter, *Dubrovnik (Ragusa): A Classic City State* (London/New York: Seminar Press, 1972), pp. 56–67. On Dubrovnik as an urban center in the Balkan Peninsula, see also Josip Lučić, *Povijest Dubrovnika. Od VII stoljeća do godine 1205* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1973), pp. 15–65.

143 The examples are documents issued by Župan Petar and his brother Slavic for the landed estates in Obrovac, given for the monastery in Zadar. *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 96, p. 130. *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 97, pp. 131–32. The group of diplomas issued by Zvonimir has a similar meaning. *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 109, pp. 139–40 and no. 110, p. 141.

144 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 75, pp. 102–3.

145 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 95, p. 129.

146 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 116, pp. 148–52.

147 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 28, p. 41.

148 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 165, p. 206.

area was also intended for preserving food.¹⁴⁹ There is also a diploma issued on March 12, 1078 by Demetrius Zvonimir (died 1089) for the inhabitants of the island of Brač, who acted as a go-between in trading with Italy. In that document, Demetrius—the King of Croatia and Dalmatia granted them the privilege of free exchange in all the subordinate municipalities and allowed the free transport of goods, exempting them from the necessity of paying any customs duties.¹⁵⁰

The relationship between the Doges of Venice and the cities located off the coast of Dalmatia is also of great interest. They provided these long-distance trade centers with the means necessary to maintain and build commercial boats. Sometimes the doges also gave them merchant vessels. In exchange for this support, the cities located on the Adriatic were obliged to equip soldiers and loan their ships to the Venetian naval fleet when deemed necessary. In this regard, there are some interesting documents issued for merchants from Split. In a diploma issued in 1097 by Vitale I Michiel, there is a mention of setting up two galleys and two smaller boats for Venice.¹⁵¹ The document also mentions that they were intended to transport iron, sought after on long-distance exchange markets.

The increase in the importance of commercial centers located on the Adriatic should also be associated with the times of Crusades and the then reorientation of communication and trade routes. It was also a period of several economic transformations in the Balkan Peninsula, as evidenced by the analysis of the structure of silver deposits from this period. In contrast to Central, Eastern, and Northern Europe, their numbers increased in the Balkans in the early 12th century.¹⁵² The metallic finds were changing as well.

149 On the importance of use of salt in the production processes, see Angelika Lampen, *Fischerei und Fischhandel im Mittelalter: Wirtschafts- und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen nach urkundlichen und archäologischen Quellen des 6. Bis 14. Jahrhunderts im Gebiet des Deutschen Reiches*, (Historische Studien), 461 (Husum: Matthiesen, 2000), pp. 29–70. Antoni Jodłowski, “Technika produkcji soli na terenie Europy w pradziejach i we wczesnym średniowieczu.” *Studia i materiały do dziejów żup solnych w Polsce* 5 (1976), 7–32.

150 “*Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam posteris, quod ego Zuoinimir seu Demetrius, diuina concedente gracia rex Chrobatorum et Dalmatinorum, cum omnibus nobilibus meis concessi Prestanti Pelagio, iudici insule Bracie in Dalmacia, et omnibus charissimis nobilibus de Bracia, quod ipsi nobiles amici cum omnibus suis insularis possint libere uendere et emere in omnibus ciuitatibus, locis et uillis regni mei omnes mercaturas, quas placuerit eis emere et uendere, sine ulla collecta, dazia et inposicione.*” *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 124, p. 159.

151 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1, no. 168, p. 208.

152 On numismatic items in the collections of the National Museum in Belgrade, see Vesna Radić, Vujadin Ivanišević, *Byzantine Coins From the National Museum in Belgrade* (Belgrade: Narodni Muzej, 2006). In this period, the coin began to play a more and more

Dominant among them were deposits with Byzantine numisma, dated to the reign of Alexios I Komnenos and Manuel I Komnenos, and notably, they were concentrated mainly in the central part of the Balkan Peninsula (30 deposits).¹⁵³

Another set of documents from the reign of Koloman I, who in 1097–1102 conquered the areas of today's Croatia provides further insight into development of trade in this region. The King of Hungary, Croatia, and Dalmatia payed attention to the development of centers such as Zadar, Split, Kotor, and Trogir. This can be proved by a set of documents confirming the rights and privileges of the merchant communities living in them.¹⁵⁴

3.4 Production and Dependent Population: an Example of the Balkan Peninsula

Due to a scarcity of sources, we do not know much about the most ancient social structure of the Balkan Slavs, and therefore we do also do not know about its dependent population. Greek authors writing about this period provide semi-legendary stories, or focus on the absence of the ruling class from the Slavs. Pseudo-Caesarius noted that the Slavs are 'daring, independent and will not be led by any government; frequently they kill their leaders at meal-time or during an expedition'.¹⁵⁵ In a slightly different spirit, Procopius and Pseudo-Maurice wrote about the lack of rulers of the Slavic tribes. Neither author mentions murdering leaders at all, and the reason for lack of rulers of the Slavs is seen rather in their love of freedom and in the fact that they had long been living in a 'democracy'.¹⁵⁶

important role in the Balkan Peninsula. The most numerous group of noble metal finds in depositions from the 9th to the 11th century are silver ornaments and fragments of ornaments. It is worth noting at the same time that the first numismatic issues in the territory of present-day Serbia are dated only in the years 1228–34. Vujadin Ivanišević, "Serbian and byzantine coins," in *Serbia and Byzantium: Proceedings of the International Conference held on 15 December 2008 at the University of Cologne, Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik*, (Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik) 8, (Frankfurt on the Main: Peter Lang, 2013), p. 45.

153 Vesna Radić, Pagona Papadopoulou and Vujadin Ivanišević, "The 12th and 13th century hoards of byzantine coins from the National Museum in Belgrade," *Numizmatičar* 26–27 (2008), 320.

154 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 2, no. 6, p. 9. See also *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 2, no. 7, pp. 10–1. *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 2, no. 16, p. 19.

155 *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, 1, ed. Georgije Ostrogorski (Belgrade: Naučna Knjiga, 1955), pp. 4–5 (hereafter cited as *Vizantijski izvori*).

156 *Vizantijski izvori*, 1, pp. 25–6, 130. Alina Brzóstkowska, Wincenty Swoboda, *Testimonia najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian* (Wrocław/Warsaw/Cracow/Gdańsk/Łódź: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1989), p. 138.

What we read in the works of Constantine Porphyrogenetos is opposed to these sources. The Slavs, ‘as they say, do not have archons, but only old people, župans.’¹⁵⁷ According to this learned monarch it was Basil I who introduced the title and position of the archon among the Slavs.¹⁵⁸ Unfortunately, Constantine did not leave a detailed account of how Slavic society was structured.

The oldest information about the existence of a dependent population in the medieval Serbian states dates from the 11th century and its source is indirect. During this period, the territorial expansion of Bulgaria ruled by Tsar Samuel led to the subjugation of a significant part of the Balkan Peninsula, including the Serbian principalities of Duklja, Raška, Travunija, and Zachumlia.¹⁵⁹ In 1018, as a result of its defeat in the Byzantine war, the Samuel state collapsed, and its territory came under the direct power of Constantinople. The triumphant Basil II, seeking to ensure the permanence of Byzantine rule in the conquered areas, proceeded with administrative reforms. The introduction of the *themes* system was of crucial importance, but the payment of rents to the state in kind was also important. This system, adapted to the economic limitations of poorer agricultural regions, was intended to prevent unrest among the local population.

The changes taking place in Byzantium after the death of Basil II in 1025 had a further effect on the former Serbian principality. In addition to the general crisis of power in the *Romaioi* state, the most important factor seems to be a change in tax policy. To improve the system, services in kind were replaced by paid rent. This resulted in growing unrest among the recently conquered populace, which evolved into open armed rebellion against the Byzantine power. Considering the dependent population, the second uprising of Vojislav from the late 1037/early 1038 is important. Vojislav, free from the yoke of Byzantine authority, united Travunija, Duklja, and Hum under his scepter. The people of this state were charged with some services to the ruler, but unfortunately the sources provide no specific information about the type or amount of service. The oldest surviving source concerning these issues, *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* (Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea or Duklja), provides on general information about the monarch:

157 *Vizantijski izvori*, 2, ed. Božidar Ferjančić (Belgrade: Naučna Knjiga, 1959), pp. 14–5.

158 *Vizantijski izvori*, 2, pp. 16–7. Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions that the Croats subordinate to the Franks also had their own archon.

159 Most likely, Samuel did not directly absorb these principalities into his own territory, but imposed some form of vassal relations on them. Ljubomir Maksimović, “Trijumf Vizantije početkom XI v,” in *Istrojia Srpskog narooda*, ed. Sima Ćirković, 1, (Belgrade: Janus, 2000), p. 170 and 234.

Every governor, that is the *voivode*, has been given from the monarch a power to have seven *satniks* who will dispense justice and collect the taxes and give them to the *ban*. Half of the revenue procured is to go to the *bans*, the rest to the monarch's treasury. And the *komeses*, that is, the *župans*, were ordered by him to have one *satnik*, who with them would dispense justice to the people in the same way, and two parts of the tributes, let *komeses*, that is, the *župans*, transfer them to the king, and let them take one for their own needs'.¹⁶⁰

As with most contemporary sources however, the veracity of this passage must be questioned and considered within the context of these historical events.¹⁶¹ In 1198 Stefan Nemanja (c. 1113–13 February 1199), a former Grand Prince (Veliki Župan) of Rascia and later a saint,¹⁶² rebuilt and extended the ruined Hilandar Monastery. In the act of endowing land, a few localities handed over to the monastery are mentioned, and their inhabitants are referred to as *pariks*.¹⁶³

Apart from them, beekeepers and *vlas*i are mentioned in the document. Unfortunately, the document contains no regulations regarding charges imposed on these dependent people. One can only assume that the population was to provide various services to the monastery and the burden of the cultivation for the monastery most likely fell, for the greater part, on the *pariks*; the beekeepers were to care for beehives donated to Hilandar. The *vlas*i, as a qualified shepherd population, were to graze and take care of the herd belonging to the monastery. In addition, these groups were charged with the obligation to provide transport services to the monastery.

More comprehensive data on the responsibilities of the dependent population can be found in sources from the mid-thirteenth century. In 1234–1243, King Vladislav (1233–1244) issued a golden charter for the monastery of Mother of God of Bistrica. The document lists two categories of dependent population: *meropahs*, who were dependent farmers, and *sokalnici*. In addition, their duties and obligations to the monastery as a feudal lord were precisely stipulated.

160 *Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina*, ed. Vladimir Mošin (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1950), p. 55.

161 The *Latopis* (chronicle) contains legendary references, has a specific political purpose, and finally, it is much later than the events described; the majority of researchers place its composition at the middle of the 12th century. However, the relatively recent analysis of Tibor Živković proves that *Latopis* is a thirteenth-century work. For more on previous research, date of creation and other issues related to the *Latopis* see Tibor Živković, *Gesta Regnum Sclavorum*, 2 (Belgrade: Institute of History Ostrog Monastery, 2009).

162 On May 25, 1196, Stefan Nemanja abdicated, and was then ordained to the monks, taking the name Simeon.

163 The term, meaning a dependent farmer, was borrowed from the Byzantine legal system.

The primary duty of the *meropahs*, as already indicated, was work on agricultural lands belonging to the monastery. According to the provisions in the document, they were obliged to plough a plot of land of 7.5 *mats* in area. However, this obligation referred to a wider range of tasks related to the preparation of the ground for ploughing. In addition, the *meropahs* were required to reap the fields and then thresh the grain, sacrificing three days for each of these activities. During this period their food was to be provided by the monastery. The obligation of haymaking has not been precisely defined, only that scything should continue until all related works have been completed.

Twice a year, on Christmas Day and the Dormition of the Mother of God (15 August), the *meropahs* gave the monastery an *uborak* of hops, a *burden* of torch, and a *kabal* of purified rye, and once a year they delivered lamb skins used to produce parchment. The list of exclusively binding obligations for *meropahs* ends with a clause that for the holidays they are to fish for the king and archbishop according to current needs.

Of course, the scope of duties varied depending on the estate. For example, the charter of King Milutin for Gračanica (1282–1321) required the *meropahs* to plough nine *mats* of land belonging to the monastery. In addition, they had to plough three more *mats*, then sow them, reap them, clean the grain, and transport it to the place of storage. Nevertheless, for the time needed to perform these works, the monastery provided them with food. An interesting regulation is included in a document issued by Stefan Dečanski in 1330. Namely, the *meropahs* were the only people charged with the duties related to the cultivation of the soil—preparation of two *mats* for the cultivation of wheat, oat, and millet, as well as carrying out all the work related to the cultivation of vines on one *mat* of monastery vineyards. The quoted document prohibits the so-called *zgon*.¹⁶⁴

Given the economic importance of the dependent population, and especially farmers, to the feudal market, it is not surprising that the legislature tried to assign them to the land as much as possible. In fact, during the entire period of the existence of the medieval Serbian state (1217–1346), it is possible to find in the documents a ban on the escape of dependent people from one property to another and the legal sanctions threatened for committing this crime. By legal regulations, a *meropah* was also forced to not change his social affiliation. Namely, he could not move to another social stratum of the population,

164 It probably means labor, to which feudal lord has no right. The mention of death has only been preserved in the endowments for Saint Stephen in Banjska and Dečani, and in the form of a ban. One can see here the aspiration of the monarch to provide legal protection of the dependent population against the possible arbitrariness of the feudal lords.

neither by marrying nor by 'learning the book', i.e. studying the Bible and religious writings.¹⁶⁵

A *meropah*, however, had some legal protection. The land he occupied himself could be given as a dowry or even sold, but on the condition that the new owner took over all the duties that resulted from its possession. It is worth noting that single women were exempt from these duties. Of course, in a situation when the son of such a woman reached the age of adulthood, he took over all the rights and obligations related to the land that his mother had managed so far. If, however, a widow was childless or had no male descendants, she could retain some of the agricultural land, the garden, and the house with its farmyard.¹⁶⁶

The legal protection of *meropahs* was finally formulated in Dušan's Code (1349). Article 68 states: 'The law for the *meropahs* on all land. He shall work for two days in the week for the *pronijar* [fief-holder] and let him pay him one tsarist *perper* in the year and let him cut his (lord's) hay with all his household one day and his vineyard one day; and if there be no vineyard, let him do other work for one day.¹⁶⁷ And what a *meropah* does, let him store it all and according to the law nothing else shall be taken from him.'¹⁶⁸ In addition, article 139 prohibits the feudal lord of compelling the *meropahs* to a greater range of services than was specified in the Code. If, however, such a situation arises, a *meropah* had the right to appeal to the court. As we see, guaranteeing legal protection for dependent farmers was part of the work related to the unification of the dependent population system. Dušan, in the golden charter for the Monastery of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel in Prizren, obliged each farm to work for the monastery for two days a week, ploughing one *bedba*¹⁶⁹ of wheat, oat, and millet. Then they had to harvest the grain, clean it, and transport it to storage facilities, and help with tending the vineyards as well.¹⁷⁰

165 *Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćirilčkih povelja i pisama Srbije, Bosne i Dubrovnika*, 1, eds. Vladimir Mošin, Sima Ćirković and Dušan Sindik (Belgrade: Istorijski institut Beograd, 2011), p. 464; Milica Grković, *The First Chapter of the Dečani Monastery* (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2004), p. 78.

166 Miloš Blagojević, *Zemljoradnički Zakon: Zrednjovekovni rukopis* (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2007), p. 190.

167 It is a way of carrying out agricultural work, in which all persons capable of doing the work take part. *Leksikon srpskog srednjeg veka*, eds. Sima Ćirković and Rade Mihaljčić (Belgrade: Knowledge, 1999), p. 212.

168 *Dušanov zakonik*, ed. Đorđe Bubalo (Belgrade: Prosveta, 2010), p. 88.

169 *Bedba* meant the obligation to provide food to the population working on a seigneur's land. Беџба: *Leksikon*, p. 37.

170 Sinisa Mišić and Tatjana Subotić-Golubović, *Svetoarhandelovska hrisovulja* (Belgrade: Junus, 2003), pp. 110–11.

The *sokalnici* are the second category of the population mentioned in the charter of King Vladislav for the monastery of Mother of God in Bistrica, mentioned above. Compared to the *meropahs*, they were a relatively privileged group. Unfortunately, the source material does not allow for the exact determination of criteria that mark them out on the social landscape, nor does it provide the exact origin of their name. The main characteristic is that they had less duties related to farming—on the land of the monastery in Bistrica they had to prepare for ploughing and to plough three *mats* less than *meropahs* (so only 4.5 *mats*), although in mowing hay they had to do the same work as the *meropahs*. Such proportions, approximately, are also evidenced by other documents defining the amount of agricultural work of these two sections of the population. In addition, the *meropahs* were distinguished by the fact that they provided transport services to the monastery, accompanied *hegumen* and monks on their trips, and even themselves could be sent away in matters related to the needs of the monastery (at the monks' request, of course). In other duties, such as haymaking or providing food to the lord, they could be equated with *meropahs*.

The reduction in the amount of agricultural work may suggest that the *sokolici* possessed other skills which were of greater economic importance. This, in turn, seems to be connected to their origin.¹⁷¹ Unfortunately, there are some doubts about the selective criteria for this group of dependents. The earliest information about them is either ambiguous or laconic. In the often cited charter of King Vladislav we read that *sokalnici* Blažuj, Gradihn, Naleško, and Dragi came with a nun, and if they held Church land, they should do the work that is ordered 'by the Church elder', and if 'they took the land from the people, they are supposed to perform the job of a *sokalnici*.

These meager references prevent us from concluding definitively whether the people mentioned in the document by name were *sokalnici* before arriving at the monastery estate, or if they became so only at the time of writing the cited charter. Nor is it possible to state clearly what the key factor was for their inclusion in this category of dependent population. If the four *sokalnici* mentioned were the only people who came along with the nun and if they were placed precisely as such in the estate of Monastery the Mother of God in Bistrica, it is not clear why the cited text ends only with a general statement

¹⁷¹ Milan Dinić shows that there is no invariable group of *sokalnici*; people referred to as *sokalnici* are also listed in the documents among the entire dependent population or are still included in the census of residents, despite the fact that they have ceased to be *sokalnici*. Milan J. Dinić, "Sokalnici" in *Iz srpske istorije srednjega veka*, ed. Sinisa Mišić (Belgrade: Equilibrium, 2003), p. 415–16.

that each of the newcomers (if he starts cultivating the land belonging to the *feudum*) is obliged to fulfill the duties of the *sokalnici*. It was only a charter issued for the Dečany Monastery and Saint Stephen in Banjska that shed more light on the origin of this category of dependents. First, ‘those who wanted to be *sokalnici* in Dečany’ are mentioned. Moreover, if craftsman mentioned in the document had more sons, only one of them could inherit the position of his father, and the rest became *sokalnici*. It was also allowed in Dečany for a son to inherit the position of his father, although, as it seems, only when he was chosen for that. In Saint Stephen the sons of *sokalnici* and of Orthodox priests, those who ‘did not learn the book’ became *sokalnici*. It is worth noting that the legislator set one more condition: the grandfather of the future *sokalnik* himself had to be a *soklanik* or an Orthodox priest.¹⁷² This would mean that some people had priority in assuming the role of *sokalnici*—either because of their technical skills (sons of craftsmen) or because they were versed in the teachings of the Church (sons of Orthodox priests).¹⁷³

One of the classes of medieval Serbian society widely discussed by researchers were *otroks*. From the very beginning, those studying this subject were divided into two opposing camps—one saw the *otroks* as slaves, while the other put them in the category of the free dependent population. It should be noted that the term itself is ambiguous and encompasses in its scope such terms as ‘child’, ‘non-free servant’, ‘servant’, and even kind of ‘judicial official’.¹⁷⁴

The oldest information about the *otroks* as a class of dependent population dates to 1300 and is connected to a donation made by King Milutin to Hilandar (more precisely, to the cell of Saint Paraskeva in the monastery in Tmorany). Unfortunately, this act is exceptionally terse and is limited to the naming of the *otroks* living in the donated lands. Dušan behaved in the same way, when—still a king—he donated lands and villages to *pirgos* in Hrusia.¹⁷⁵ From both documents, we only learn that the *otroks* were one of the categories of dependent population on these estates—in the first case they are mentioned together

172 *Zbornik*, p. 465.

173 Mihailo Dinić already signaled this possibility, considering that the works performed by the *sokalnici*, in the lack of consistency in the sources, did not require specialized preparation. Mihailo Dinić, “Sokalnici”, p. 415 and 416.

174 Since discussing all the issues related to the legal significance of the term *otrok* is beyond the scope of this work, only documents that can certainly be referred to a specific social stratum will be presented. So far, the most complete cross-section of the issues related to the *otroks* is the article: Đorđe Bubalo, “Šta znači *otrok* u srpskim poveljama?,” *Zbornik Matice Srpske za Istoriju* 56 (1997), 19–58.

175 *Monumenta Serbica Spectantia Historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii*, ed. Franz Miklosich (Vienna: Guilelmum Braumülle, 1858), p. 123.

with the *pariks*, in the second they are probably listed together with the dependent farmers (among them there was also one *rataj*, a ploughman).¹⁷⁶

The coexistence of *otroks* with other categories of the population on *feuda* is also evidenced by two documents (foundations) issued for the Mraka Monastery of Saint Nicholas. Both mention them among the dependent population, along with *pariks* and *tehnitars* (i.e. craftsmen). None of these texts provide information on the obligation of the population mentioned in them; they only contain exemptions from the duties towards the monarch and magnates arising from monastic immunity. The act issued by Stefan Dušan for Hilandar in connection with donating the Church of Saint Nicholas in Vranje to the monastery provides more information about the obligations of the *otroks*.¹⁷⁷

In the autumn they were to sow for the monastery for four days, including one *bedba*, and do the same work in the spring.¹⁷⁸ It is worth noting that their term of services was one day less than the upper limit of mentioned service.¹⁷⁹ It was not the only obligation on this group, since three times a year (at Easter, Christmas, and the feast day of the church's patron saint (which was?)), they were obliged to deliver one cart of wood. In addition, if a *hegumen* or a monk came from Hilandar, they were to carry wood in accordance with the received orders. The last burden of *otroks* was their duty to sow flax, and then harvest, soak, and dry it. It is interesting to note that they performed their labors and services to a lesser degree than the *meropah*, also mentioned in the same document.¹⁸⁰ Consequently, researchers speculate that *otroks* had their burdens reduced due to the additional work involved in tillage.¹⁸¹

The last group of the dependent population working mainly in farming were *ratays*.¹⁸² The method of their recruitment and the performance of their duties is described in the charter for the monastery of Saint Stephen in Banjska and in the Dečan gold charters. The first source is indirect. Namely, the

176 The issuers of the documents were, respectively, the Serbian King Stefan Dečanski and the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander. *Odabrani spomenici srpskog prava (od XII do kraja XV veka)*, ed. Aleksandar Solovjev (Belgrade: G. Kon, 1926), p. 110; Jordan Ivanov, *Blgarski starini iz Makedonia* (Sofia: BAN : Nauka i izkustvo, 1970), p. 592.

177 This is a confirmation of the donation made by Župan Miljušta. *Zakonski spomenici srpskih država srednjega veka*, ed. Stojan Novaković (Belgrade: Štampano u Državnoj štampariji kraljevine Srbije, 1912), p. 414.

178 In fact, this also included ploughing.

179 Miloš Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1973), p. 392.

180 *Meropahs* not only had to do the same things related to the cultivation of flax as *otroks*, but also to crush it. In addition, they had to provide one carton of wood more than *otroks*.

181 He believes that the reduced obligation to plough could have resulted from additional work on growing flax. More on that: Miloš Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja*, p. 392 and next.

182 *Zbornik*, p. 465.

legislator provided that if 'there were no *ratays* on the monastic estates, let the *meropahs*, one by one, plough with the church oxen'.¹⁸³ The Dečan acts confirm that the *ratays* used the lord's inventory to till his land. However, the *hegumen* as the head of the monastery had the right to freely choose the people who would be part of this social group. It seems that in this way *ratays* constituted a relatively small, although extremely desirable group to belong to. This is evidenced by the Banjska charter, which states that the *meropahs* can carry out the task of *ratays*, if necessary. Unfortunately, the documents do not contain details regarding other duties of this class. Nevertheless, while maintaining a certain amount of precaution when using an analogy in relation to other medieval societies, it can be assumed that the *ratays* in medieval Serbia, like their counterparts in Piast Poland, were exempt from other duties.¹⁸⁴

The second major group of the dependent population were the *własi*, those engaged in shepherding.¹⁸⁵ Our earliest knowledge of them is conveyed in Stefan Nemanja's charter for Hilandar. As it states, the *własi* were to occupy the herds belonging to the monastery and transport salt from the sea for the needs of the monks.¹⁸⁶ In addition, this document indicates the internal structure of the group. Two leaders stood at the head of the 170 *własi* subordinate to Hilandar.¹⁸⁷ It was during this period that the so-called law of *własi*, regulating the principles of their functioning on other properties, should emerge. In King Milutin's charter of 1300, we see that to the *własi* on the monastery of Saint George near Skopje, as to their counterparts on the estates of Mileševa and Studenica, applies the so-called law of Saint Simeon and Saint Sava. Unfortunately, these documents have not survived, and everything we know about the regulations contained therein boils down to information in later charters which refer explicitly to the laws of Saint Simenon and Saint Sava.¹⁸⁸

183 Pavle Ivić and Milica Grković, *Dečanske hrisovulje* (Novi Sad: Institut za lingvistiku u Novom Sadu, 1976), p. 68, 134 and 272.

184 Karol Modzelewski, *Chłopi w monarchii wczesnopiastowskiej* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1977), p. 105. Exempting the dependent population from all other feudal duties for the purpose of fulfilling only the main one is not atypical: in Serbian documents we find information about releasing the shepherds, bee-keepers, etc. from all agricultural work.

185 Initially, the name 'Własi' referred to the Romanized pre-Slavic population, but over time it began to mean the shepherd population.

186 The document directly mentions only mares, but it should rather be assumed that on such vast possessions there were also herds of other farm animals belonging to the monastery. *Zbornik*, p. 69.

187 In general, at the head of the community of *własi* (*katun*) stood a leader with various titles.

188 The so-called Saint Simeon and Saint Sava law was not a single legal act, but two separate laws, binding on the estates of Studenica Monastery and Mileševa Monastery, respectively. Miloš Blagojević, "Zakon svetoga Simeona i svetoga Save," in *Nemanjići i Lazarevići*

In the mentioned charter, in addition to the reference to earlier legal acts, there is also a record that the *własi* should plough on the monastery grounds one day of *bedba*—and then reap the sown cereal. In addition, they were also required to mow one cart of hay.¹⁸⁹ The imposition of agricultural duties (mainly haymaking) on the shepherd population was essentially connected with the need to provide food for animals.¹⁹⁰

Nevertheless, dealing with shepherding for the lord could mean exemption from other feudal services. Such a situation occurred on the estate of the Monastery of the Holy Archangels near Prizren: the duty of grazing monastic sheep was imposed on residents of the town of Brod, but in return they were released from other labor. Some of the preserved documents also indicate the existence of specialization among the shepherd population: caring for one species of animal or even specific animals.¹⁹¹

For grazing and taking care of herds, the *własi* received their salary—*beleg* and *mesečnina*. The first meant receiving animals selected from the herds under their care—although it could also be paid in cash.¹⁹² Considering that *beleg* could have placed a significant burden on monastic finances, the legislator sometimes stipulated that this type of remuneration would not apply to some estates. One example of this is a set of regulations included in the first charter for Dečany: ‘and a *włach*, who is grazing the mares, may not take a *beleg* for mares, but let him feed with the *mesečnina*’. The *własi* who grazed sheep were entitled to both types of remuneration. *Mesečnina* meant a food ration. In addition, the *własi* could receive clothes, woolen cloth, etc. Of course, there were other obligations on the shepherd population. In the case of grazing of the animals belonging to the monastery on its own pasture, they owe it a payment, the so-called *travnina*. It was paid in kind: the monastery would receive a small share of the grazing livestock and sometimes money and cheese. In addition, the *własi* were obliged to donate to the monastery lamb skins used to make parchment, and to provide transport services related to the transport

i srpska srednjovekovna državnost, (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2004, p. 197.

189 Sinisa Mišić and Tatjana Subotić-Golubović, *Svetoarhandelovska hrisovulja*, p. 112 and 134.

190 Vlachs-soldiers on the estate of Saint Stephen in Banjska cared for stallions; the inhabitants of Brod, as mentioned above, looked after the sheep; in turn, the *własi* of Dobrušina took care of mares; on the estates of the Dečani, the *własi* were divided into those caring for mares, sheep, horned cattle, and pigs.

191 For example, on the Saint Archangel's estate, the *własi* received two foals or 10 perpers per year. On the same estate and on the feudum of Saint George near Skopje, for every 50 sheep each *własi* had one lamb and one heifer.

192 Sinisa Mišić and Tatjana Subotić-Golubović, *Svetoarhandelovska hrisovulja*, p. 69.

of such goods as salt, cheese, rye, etc.¹⁹³ Poor *własi* had to make cloth from the monastic wool, while the wealthier used their own wool for this purpose. These services also included the need to repair the stables and *jagnjila*, i.e. 'the place where sheep lamb'. Naturally, they also had to cover all losses to flocks arising from their fault.¹⁹⁴

The same regulations for the shepherd population applied to Albanians, who were legally equated with the *własi*.¹⁹⁵ Naturally, apart from the mentioned categories of dependent population, there was a whole range of other groups, such as various craftsmen, dog handlers, falconers, etc. Considering the importance of specialist skills of these population groups for the rural economy, the legislator reduced their other services (e.g. equating craftsmen with *sokalnici* in agricultural duties) or completely exempted them. All obligations imposed on the dependent population resulted from the land ownership structure of the time. In the Middle Ages, three degrees of land ownership were distinguished. These were referred to as *dominium eminens*, *dominium dictum*, and *dominium utile* in the sources. The first two categories were the exclusive privilege of the monarch and aristocracy (regardless of their internal diversity), with the last (and lowest) category was that of dependent peasants. In exchange for use of the land, they were obliged to provide the feudal lord with a whole range of tributes in kind and labor. In addition, they were charged with monetary tribute in favor of the ruler (*soće*, imperial income). Interestingly, in the light of the analyzed sources, the main burden of payment was borne by the *meropahs*. Later, however, due to changes caused by the Ottoman conquests (14th and 15th century), a new tax was introduced, the *unča* (also called a levy to the lord). It was intended to cover military expenses and was paid twice a year, in autumn and in winter.¹⁹⁶ In addition to labor and cash rents, the dependent population incurred service-related burdens—carrying the lord's luggage while traveling, and providing food to his servants and animals.

193 For example, on the Monastery of the Saint Archangel's feudum, for every 100 mares and the same number of sheep and cattle, they had to give, respectively, one mare, one sheep with a lamb and one cow.

194 Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, "Povelja kralja Stefana Dušana o poklanjanju crkve svetog Nikole u Vranju manastiru Hilandar," *Stari srpski arhiv* 4 (2005), 73; Pavle Ivić and Milica Greković, *Dečanske*, p. 68, 135, 271; Sinisa Mišić and Tatjana Subotić-Golubović, *Arhandelska*, p. 112 and pp. 113–14.

195 This applies only to the shepherd population, whereas settled Albanians were granted the equivalent of dependent farmers' rights.

196 *Leksikon*, p. 742. For the first time, he was mentioned in the bull of the Stefan despot, releasing the villages belonging to the Monastery of Great Lavra of Athanasius the Athonite from their obligations to the monarch. *Povelje i pisma despota Stefana: Tekst-Komentari-Snimci*, ed. Aleksandar Mladenović (Belgrade: Čigoja štampa, 2007), p. 224.

Goods That Were Exchanged in Trade

Previous studies have dealt with the functioning of the far-reaching exchange linking vast areas of Europe with the Muslim and Byzantine worlds. The importance of imports proving the development of economic relations has also been pointed out.¹ The goods being exchanged in trade in the 10th–12th centuries in Central and Eastern Europe and Northern Europe were mainly luxury goods, coin silver, ornamental textiles, weapons, and ornaments. The researchers also dealt with the slave trade, but rarely with issues related to goods present on long-distance exchange markets such as spices, salt, honey, wax, amber, horses, and iron.² Studies focusing on the Balkan Peninsula stressed the

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- 1 Władysław Duczko, “Viking Age Scandinavia and Islam,” pp. 107–8. Viacheslav Kuleshov, “Silver for Furs from the Land of Darkness,” in *Byzantium within the Context of World Culture: Proceedings of the Conference Dedicated to the Memory of Alisa Vladimirovna Bank 1906–1984*, eds. Vera H. Zaleskaya and Elena V. Stepanova, (Saint Petersburg: Sankt-Peterburg Izdatel'stvo Gosudarstvennogo Ėrmitaža, 2017), pp. 363–67. Mateusz Bogucki, “Intercultural relations of the inhabitants of Polish territory in the 9th and 10th centuries,” in *The Past Societies: Polish Lands from the First Evidence of Human Presence to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Przemysław Urbańczyk, (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2017), pp. 232–67. Vesna Radić, Pagona Papadopoulo and Vujadin Ivanišević, “The 12th and 13th century hoards of Byzantine coins from the National Museum in Belgrade,” *Numizmatičar* 26–27 (2008), 319–48. Roman Zaoral, “Silver and glass in medieval trade and cultural exchange between Venice and the Bohemian Kingdom,” *The Czech Historical Review* 109 (2011), no. 2, 284–309. Błażej Stanisławski, “Słowianie w Skandynawii epoki wikingów,” in *Od Bachorza do Światowida ze Zbrucza: Tworzenie się słowiańskiej Europy w ujęciu źródłoznawczym: Księga jubileuszowa Profesora Michała Parczewskiego*, eds. Barbara Chudzińska, Michał Wojenka and Marcin Wołoszyn, (Cracow/Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2016), pp. 221–29. Marek Jankowiak, “Two systems of trade in the Western Slavic lands in the 10th century,” in *Economies, Monetisation and the Society in the West Slavic Lands 800–1200 A.D.*, pp. 137–44. Mateusz Bogucki, “Viking Age emporia around the Baltic Sea: a cul-de-sac of European urbanization?,” in *Making a Medieval Town: Patterns of Early Medieval Urbanization*, eds. Andrzej Buko and Mike McCarthy, (Warsaw: Zakład Wydawniczy Letter Quality, 2010), pp. 152–63. Marika Mägi, *In Austrvegr. The Role of the Eastern Baltic in Viking Age: Communication Across the Baltic Sea* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018), pp. 97–140.
 - 2 Karl Leyser, “The tenth century in Byzantine-Western relationships,” in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. Derek Baker, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973), p. 30. Piotr Pranke and Ewelina Siemianowska, “Handel solą w okresie od IX do XI wieku na terenie Europy Środkowej,” in *Migracje: Podróże w dziejach: Starożytność i średniowiecze*, eds. Maciej Franz, Karol Kościelniak and Zbigniew Pilarczyk, (Mare Integrans: Studia nad dziejami wybrzeży Morza Bałtyckiego), 7 (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2015), pp. 230–56. Charles Verlinden, “L'origine de sclavus = esclave,” *Archivum latinitatis Medii Aevi* 17 (1942), 97–128. Charlotte Warnke, “Der Handel mit Wachs zwischen Ost- und

economic importance of Byzantium, and of Venetian merchants,³ who were considered to be intermediaries in trade between post-Carolingian Europe and

Westeuropa im frühen und hohen Mittelalter," in *Der Handel Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit*, pp. 545–50. Carl I. Hammer, *A Large-Scale Slave Society of the Early Middle Ages* (Hanover: Routledge, 2002). According to Henryk Łowmiański, the growing exports of these categories of goods should be associated with the development of the fiscal and military apparatus of early state organisations, which, as they became involved in trade and territorial expansion along long-distance trade routes, benefited from production surpluses, becoming suppliers of a number of export goods. Henryk Łowmiański, *Podstawy gospodarcze formowania się państw słowiańskich*, pp. 218–19. The importance of the transport of this type of goods within the Baltic Sea is evidenced by the ceramic artifacts, which is perceived by researchers as a form of "packaging" for the transported goods. Joachim Herrmann, *Siedlung, Wirtschaft und gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse der Slawischen Stämme Zwischen Oder/Neisse und Elbe: Studien auf der Grundlage archäologischen Materials* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1968), p. 135. Błażej Stanisławski, "Wczesnośredniowieczna ceramika słowiańska w Skandynawii," in *Świat Słowian wczesnego średniowiecza*, pp. 566–73. Błażej Stanisławski, "Wczesnośredniowieczna ceramika słowiańska i bałtycko-wendyjska z wyspy Bornholm," *Materiały Zachodniopomorskie* 46 (2000), 107–20. Hildegard Adam, *Das Zollwesen im Fränkischen Reich und das Spätkarolingische Wirtschaftsleben: Ein Überblick über Zoll, Handel und Verkehr im 9. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996). Fritz Koller, "Die Salinen der Fürstpropstei Berchtesgaden. Salzproduktion und Salzhandel zwischen Bayern, Salzburg und Österreich," in *Das Salz in der Rechts- und Handelsgeschichte: Internationaler Salzgechichtskongreß 26. September bis 1. Oktober 1990 Hall in Tirol*, eds. Jean-Claude Hocquet and Rudolf Palme, (Innsbruck: Schwaz Berenkamp, 1991), pp. 95–102. Alice Rio, *Slavery after Rome 500–1100* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). Šimon Ungerman, "Schwertgute des 9. Bis 10. Jahrhunderts in West- und Mitteleuropa," in *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa: Internationale Konferenz und Kolleg der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung zum 50. Jahrestag des Beginns Archäologischer Ausgrabungen in Pohansko bei Břeclav, 5.-9.10.2009, Břeclav, Tschechische Republik*, eds. Jiří Macháček and Šimon Ungerman, (Bonn: Habelt, 2011), pp. 575–603. In the source texts, references to importing spices into Europe appear as early as in *Epistola ad regem*. These included not only the particularly sought after and valued mastic, but also galangal and cinnamon. According to the letter, spices were imported along with dyed fabrics. "*Parva xeniola, sed peregrina seu transmarina, quae modo ad vestrum obsequium pietatem divinam mihi credo direxisse, augustae dominationi vestrae curavi destinare: palliolum coloris prasini et aliud polimitum, spatulas palmarum cum suis fructibus, cynamomi, calangani, cariofli, masticis, et piperis fasciculum, Caricas ficorum, malogranata, pectinem elefantium, vermiculos, cicadas, aves pistacos, merulam albam et longissimam spinam de pisce marino.*" "Epistola ad regem," in *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. Karl Zeumer, MGH LL 1 (1886), no. 29, p. 415. For these categories of goods, it is not only the information provided by oriental authors, such as Al-Masudi, but also a number of diplomas in the Empire, which mention the duties towards the ruler's table (the order to pay him tributes in the form of spices). These are also the beginnings of the development of Western European trade with the Levant area on a larger scale. See DD H III, no. 351, p. 478. DD F I, no. 491, p. 414. It should be noted that in the times of Frederick I he was charging a fee of probably a tenth of the pepper imported. The fee is set at five pepper libras.

3 Diego Puga and Daniel Trefler, "International trade and institutional change: medieval Venice's response to globalization," *Discussion paper* 9076 (2012), 4–7.

the Eastern Empire.⁴ The role of the Danube Route as an element connecting the central areas with Barbaricum is also emphasized.⁵

There are numerous references in the written material to these types of goods, as well as the function of the trade routes connecting vast areas of Central and Central and Eastern Europe with the Apennine Peninsula, the Eastern Empire, and the Muslim world.⁶ There were periods of increasing internal demand in central areas, occurring in parallel with the development of the trade fair network at that time, the granting of the right to mint coins to other monastic centers, the collection of customs duties, and the organization of trade fairs. This process drove interregional trade as demands for goods sought on internal markets led to semiperipheral and peripheral centers coming within the influence of the world system.⁷

At the same time, there were prohibitions dating to the Carolingian era, restricting the sale of certain categories of goods beyond the borders of the *regnum*. The ban on prohibited items, such as elements of armaments, horses, and Christian slaves, resulted in the specialization of Scandinavian merchants as a way to circumvent restrictions and regulations.⁸ Oriental sources strongly

4 The mention of the silk trade in Thietmar's Chronicle is particularly interesting. The demand for silk was growing, of course, due to the importance of decorative costumes and liturgical garments, but silk was also used to wrap relics as a sign of special worship. Information about this practice can be found in Cosmas' Chronicle. *Kosmas*, lib. II, c. 4, pp. 88–9. At the same time, it is important to emphasize the function of the centres in Italy. Not only Ferrara and the above-mentioned Venice, but also Cremona, Pavia, and Ravenna were important. It was through these urban centres that spices found their way to the imperial court. According to the preserved source texts, the ruler was to receive three libras of pepper and cinnamon for permission to trade there. This information comes from the document of Henry III of 23 August 1055. DD H III, no. 351, p. 478.

5 Yanko M. Hristov, "Prisoners of war," 73–99.

6 Michael Borgolte, *Christen, Juden, Musulmanen*, pp. 39–40.

7 It is worth noting that in Scandinavia a relatively rapid increase in the importance of economic relations related to the development of interregional exchange took place. Jutta Waller, "Swedish contacts with the Eastern Baltic in the pre-Viking and early Viking Ages: The evidence from Helgö," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 13 (1982) no. 3, 256–65.

8 "*De armis infra patria non portandis, id est scutis et lanceis et loriceis; et si faidosus sit ut pacati sint, et distringantur ad pacem, etiamsi noluerint; et si aliter pacificare nolunt, adducantur in nostram praesentiam*" [...] "*De negotiaribus qui partibus Sclavorum et Avarorum pergunt, quosque procedere cum suis negotiis debeant: id est partibus Saxoniae usque ad Bardaenowic, ubi praevideat Hredi; et ad Schezla, ubi Madalgaudus praevideat; et ad Magadoburg praevideat Aito ...* [...] *Et ut arma et brunias non ducant ad venundandum; quod si inventi fuerint portantes, ut omnis substantia eorum auferatur ab eis, dimidia quidem pars partibus palatii, alia vero medietas inter iamdictos missos et inventorem dividatur.*" "Capitulare missorum in thoedonis villa datum secundum, generale," in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, eds. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause, MGH LL 1 (1883), no. 44, §5, 7, p. 123. These bans on the territory

emphasized the importance of goods procured by Scandinavian merchants, and recognized the Scandinavians (Rus' people)⁹ as suppliers, and sometimes manufacturers, of high quality sword blades.¹⁰ The sharp 'Franks' swords shimmering in the sun with thousands of colours" were particularly valued on the Arab market (They were made using the pattern welding technique and had wide fullers.)¹¹ As for the swords made using the Damascene technique, their

of the Western Empire are likely to have contributed to a change in the funeral rites among groups of the Slavs living in Thuringia and Saxony, as evidenced by sources. The ban on the sale of weapons, already contained in the *Capitulare missorum*, has led to the replacement of weapons burials in some cemeteries in favor of the use of large quantities of silver jewelry. It probably took over the function of an element of ostentation expressing the social prestige of the deceased. Artifacts from the Thuringia area provide one example. Among them, the cemetery in Epsenfeld is of particular importance. According to Ivo Vukcevič, the people buried there should also be associated with the sphere of far-reaching trade. Among the objects found there is a group of those related to Kievan Rus' (Ruthenia). Vukovic also emphasizes the importance of decorations made of semi-precious stones. Ivo Vukcevič, *Rex Germanorum Populos Sclavorum: An Inquiry Into the Origin and Early History of the Serbs/Slavs of Sarmatia, Germania and Illyria* (Michigan: University Center Press, 2001), p. 338. As far as trade in swords in the Western Empire is concerned, the document of Henry IV issued on 5 June 1104 is of particular importance. According to this diploma, every ten swords transported were subject to duty in the form of one sword. The tariff also specified the participants in the exchange, indicating groups of traders from centres such as Cologne, Mainz, Regensburg, Würzburg, Constance, Spira, and Strasbourg. At the same time, their origin determined the amount of fees charged. The highest fee was charged to merchants arriving with their goods from Metz, Toulouse, and Strasbourg. A high amount due (four denars) was also collected for each of the slaves bought. DD H IV, 6.2, no. 487, p. 664.

9 Oriental sources mention the presence of Scandinavians and Ruses, with their typical cremation rites, as well as newcomers from the *Jagug wa Magug* (Gog and Magog) country who practiced inhumation. Arne Melvinger, "Madjus", pp. 119–21. See also Emeri van Donzel, Andrea Schmidt, *Gog and Magog in Early Syriac and Islamic Sources: Sallam's Quest for Alexander's Wall* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), pp. 89–98. More on the funeral practices observed in Ruthenia, see Kirill A. Mikhaylov, *Elite funeral rite of ancient Russia: Chamber-graves of the late 9th–early 11th centuries in the context of North European analogies* (Saint Petersburg: Branko Publishing House, 2016). An example of high quality swords described by oriental texts is the sword discovered in the cemetery in Bodzia. Michał Kara, "Weapons," in *Bodzia: A Late Viking Age Elite Cemetery in Central Poland*, eds. Andrzej Buko and Dorota Cyngot (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 182–87.

10 *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, 1, p. 74.

11 *Medieval Islamic Swords and Swordmaking: Kindī's Treatise 'On swords and their kinds'*, eds. Robert G. Hoyland and Brian Gilmour (Exeter: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2006), p. 43 (hereafter cited as *Medieval Islamic Swords*). According to the *Tale of Bygone Years*, swords were the subject of a tribute that the Russians passed on to the Khazars. In a passage about the Khazar invasion of the Polans (which took place after the death of Kyi, Shchek, and Khoryv) it was mentioned that the tribute was given to the Khazar ruler. Not only did he appreciate the quality and sharpness of the weapons handed down in the form

price on the Arab markets was 15–20 dirhams.¹² For comparison, a “particularly beautiful” woman slave could be bought for 3–10 dinars, while the furs of sa-
bles reached the value of “a hundred, and even more than a hundred dinars”.¹³
The average price for a slave, in comparison, was around 300 dirhams.¹⁴

An analysis of the written material demonstrates that the most frequently
traded goods (Arabic and Latin sources) were slaves, skins, fur, silk, dyed fab-
rics, salt, honey, wax, amber, horses, weapons, and grain.¹⁵ Raw materials such

of a tribute, but he also announced the end of Khazar Khaganate and the domination
of Russia. Grzegorz Rostkowski, “Międzynarodowe i wewnętrzne położenie Kaganatu
Chazarskiego w pierwszej połowie X wieku,” *Mazowieckie Studia Humanistyczne* nos. 1–2
(2000), 11.

12 *Medieval Islamic Swords*, p. 47.

13 Perhaps the significant interchangeability of fur imported from Europe into Muslim mar-
kets was one of the reasons for the increase in incomes collected in skins and fur in the
Western Empire. *Vita Meinwerci episcopi*, c. 85, p. 52.

14 Ivan Hrbek, “Ein arabischer Bericht über Ungarn,” 208.

15 *Adam*, lib. IV, c. 21, p. 251. *Helmold*, lib. I, c. 1, p. 6. Ibn Hauqal, *Opus Geographicum* Abu-l-
Kasim Ibn Haukal an-Nasibi, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum)
2 (Leiden: Brill, 1873), p. 392. Merchants from Venice played a special role in the orna-
mental fabrics trade. Thietmar’s Chronicle mentions them, recounting the sinking of four
large Venetian ships with valuable cargo. *Thietmar*, lib. VII, c. 76, p. 492. *Vita Meinwerci
episcopi Patherbrunnensis*, c. 85, p. 52. *Ruotgeri vita Brunonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis*, ed.
Irene Ott, MGH Ss rer. Germ. N.S 10 (1951), c. 30, p. 31. DD K II, no. 140, p. 190. DD H IV, 6.2,
no. 487, p. 663. DD O I, no. 32, p. 118. DD O I, no. 459, p. 624. DD O I, no. 183, p. 266. “Die
Urkunden Kunigunde,” in DD H II, no. 2, p. 695. “Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium,” in
Annales et Chronica Aevi Salici: Vitae aevi Carolini et Saxonici, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH Ss 4
(1841), c. 11, p. 49. DD O II, no. 240, p. 270. *Die Urkunden Ottos II*, no. 244, p. 276. DD O II,
no. 243, p. 275. DD O II, no. 250, p. 285. DD O II, no. 248, p. 280. “Mandatum de argenti fo-
dinis Heinrici VI. Constitutiones,” in *Constitutiones et Acta publica imperatorum et regum*,
I, no. 327 (a. 1189), p. 466. DD H IV, 6.2, no. 487, p. 664. *Ratpert St. Galler Klostergeschichte
(Causa sancti Galli)*, ed. Hannes Steiner, MGH Ss rer. Germ. in usum scholarum 75 (2002),
c. 9, p. 202. DD K II, no. 140, p. 191. As far as amber is concerned, beads made of it were
of some importance. Glass beads were of high value, so amber beads could have been
their cheaper equivalent. In ibn Fadlan’s *Account* there is a reference to the interchange-
able value of glass beads. According to Caliph Al-Muqtadir, for one bead made of green
glass, which was particularly valued in the Rus’ region, one dirham was paid, which he
believed to be an excessive price. *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, 3, p. 68,
109. Christiane Zimmermann and Hauke Jöns, “Cultural contacts between the Western
Baltic, the North Sea and Scandinavia. Attributing runic finds to runic traditions and cor-
pora of the Early Viking Age,” in *Frisians and their North Sea Neighbours: From the Fifth
Century to the Viking Age*, eds. John Hines and Nelleke Ijssennagger, (Woodbridge: Boydell
Press, 2017), pp. 243–59. Nils Hybel and Björn Poulsen, *The Danish Resources c. 1000–1550*
(Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 353–62.

as lead, tin, and iron were also valued.¹⁶ Contrary to the belief expressed by some researchers that luxury goods were of particular importance for the development of interregional trade, it was the sale of mass goods (often difficult to observe in the archaeological record, e.g. slaves, salt, wax, fur, food, castoreum for perfume production, amber, and mineral resources) that not only dominated the internal trade of central areas (or trade with semiperipheral and peripheral areas), but also determined the development of a network of far-reaching trade links. This is evidenced, for example, by the catalogue of goods imported from Europe in Al-Muqqadasi's text, including: Slavic slaves, sabres, fish fangs (walrus tusks), arrows, amber, skins (of squirrels, ermines, martens, weasels, and beavers), kimucht, fish glue, honey, hazelnuts, falcons, swords, chain mail, cattle (from Khazaria and Volga Bulgaria), and grain.¹⁷

There are also a number of Latin texts concerning regulations related to the sale of grain. It should be noted that from the time of the Merovingians Europe had strict regulations not only on transport but also on the trade of grain (for which a maximum value was set). The detailed regulations for this category of goods were determined by the Frankfurt synod.¹⁸ This practice, which served to protect the population from hunger caused by excessive fiscal burdens, likely stemmed from a long-standing tradition. In the documents issued by Chlodwig (466–511) there are already references to the maximum annual amount of these tributes.¹⁹ The customs regulations in Cologne are an example of this practice of controlling the sale of cereals.²⁰

16 DD O I, no. 459, p. 624. DD O I, no. 214, p. 296. The scale of the production and marketing of raw materials is evidenced by Henry III's diploma for traders from Scalvetales. The ruler not only granted them the right to trade in iron throughout the regnum, but also exempted them from the annual charge of a thousand pounds of iron in order to stimulate the development of trade. This level of duty shows the scale of iron production and also indicates the size of the infrastructure necessary for it. DD H III, no. 199, pp. 256–57.

17 *Al-Muqqadasi*, pp. 324–25.

18 Synodus Franconofurtensis a. 794, no. 55, §4, p. 74.

19 An example is a document issued by Chlodwig for Theudechilda in October 508 in Paris. In connection with individual towns and villages, it mentions the names of the servants who were most often obliged to deliver two *modii* of grain and a fee in coin. The amount of this fee varied from ten to several dozen solids per year. Wild oats and cattle were a separate category to be transferred as incomes. *Die Urkunden der Merowinger. Die Urkunden Chlodwigs*, eds. Carlrichard Brühl, Theo Kölzer, Martina Hartmann and Andrea Stieldorf, MGH Diplomata NS 1 (2001), no. 5, pp. 18–26 (hereafter cited as Chlodwig).

20 Quellen zur Geschichte des Kölnerhandels und Verkehrs, no. 1, p. 1.

The source texts also stressed the importance of means of exchange other than coins, such as bullion.²¹ In some sources we find references to spices from “the most distant lands of the world,” which were intended not only to emphasize the importance of individual fair centers, but also to indicate the wealth of areas participating in the exchange. Information on this can be found in *Historiae et annales Windbergenses*.²²

With regard to spices, the sources highlight the role of Venetian merchants specialising in exchanges with the Eastern Empire and the Muslim world.²³ The price of aromas and spices imported into Central Europe was so high that they were valued more than bullion. Sometimes they were also an element of remuneration for people acting in the name of the ruler. One example is a document issued by Frederick I for the *monetarii* from Worms. Each year they received a total of nine pepper libras for their function. This salary was paid to them on Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, as directed by the Emperor. The choice of indicated holidays, the method of document authentication, and the testing formula used also signify the importance of remuneration paid as gifts.²⁴

The particular importance of slaves is worth stressing, both as a commodity imported by merchants involved in long-distance trade, and as part of the internal trade within the Western Empire. Sources refer to them as *mancipia*,²⁵

21 DD O III, no. 411, p. 846. DD K II, no. 133, p. 180. DD LO III, no. 39, p. 64.

22 “Historiae et annales Windbergenses.” ed. Philipp Jaffé, in *Annales aevi Suevici*, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH Ss 17 (1861), p. 562.

23 “Pactum cum Venetis. Lotharii III Constitutiones,” in *Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum*, 1, no. 119 (a. 1136), p. 174.

24 “Postremo omnis iusticia episcopi est, ut magistri monetariorum in summis solemnitatibus, in nativitate domini, in pasca, in pentecostes, tres grues et tres libras piperis ei persolvere debent. Statuimus igitur et modis quibus possumus confirmamus firmissime precipientes, ne aliqua imperii nostri ecclesiastica secularisve persona has nostras constitutiones infringere vel contra eas temerario ausu venire presumat, sed in omni evo rate et inconvulse permanent, presentem inde cartam conscribi et sigilli nostri impressione insigniri iussimus adhibitibus idoneis testibus (...).” DD F I, no. 491, p. 414. For the importance of pepper as a spice and how it is distributed, see Melitta Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times* (Westport/Connecticut/ London: Greenwood Press, 2004), p. 15.

25 The status of the population referred to as *mancipia* was mainly related to the effects of military action, the use of force and violence. This is the title of the people who lost their personal freedom in a violent way, were abducted to captivity by force, and then imprisoned, within the *regnum*. An example is the information from Thietmar’s Chronicle on the military operations carried out by Boleslaw the Brave. *Thietmar*, lib. VII, c. 64, p. 478. The duty of the *mancipia* was to work for the ruler and for the Church. It is worth emphasizing that this was a Christian population, whose sale outside the borders of power was limited on the basis of the provisions of the synodal legislation, while obliging them to obey masters and ordering them to pay tithing. Such regulations meant that the fate of

servi (or *slaves, ancilla, ancillae*),²⁶ *famuli*,²⁷ and *captivi*.²⁸ Their subordination, function, and social status were also defined by the term ‘family’ (*familia serviis*,²⁹ *familia Sclavorum*,³⁰ *familia utrusque sexus*³¹).³² The analysis of the

the *mancipia* was better than that of *captivi*. Selling *mancipia* to foreign merchants was strictly forbidden, and the punishment for such a deed was equal to the punishment for murder. “Karlmanni principis capitulare Liptinense,” in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 11, §3, p. 28. “*Item interrogatum est, quid de eo faciendum sit, qui christianum hominem vendiderit. Responsumque est ab omnibus, homicidii reatum ipsum hominem sibi contrahere.*” Koblenz 922, c. 7, p. 70. “Synodus Ingelheimensis. Ottonis I constitutiones,” in *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH Const., 1, no. 5 (a. 948), c. 9, p. 11. “*Et licet quid de christianis, qui aut captivitatis incursu aut quibuscumque fraudibus Iudeorum servitio implicantur, debeat custodiri, non solum canonicis, sed et legum beneficiis iam pridem fuerit constitutum; tamen quia nunc ita quorundam querela exorta est quosdam Iudeos per civitates aut municipia consistentes in tantam insolentiam et proterviam prorupisse, ut nec reclamantes christianos liceat vel ad pretium de eorum posse servitute absolvi.*” Meaux-Paris a. 845–846, c. 73, p. 122. On the definition of *mancipia*: *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesin, Alcuini abbatis et Caroli Magni imperatoris magistri opera omnia*, ed. Jaques P. Migne, Patrologia Latina, 1 (1863), p. 557.

26 DD H I, no. 29, p. 64. DD O II, no. 164, p. 184. DD O II, no. 253, p. 287.

27 DD O II, no. 265, p. 682. The document of Henry II for the Cathedral Chapter of Verona in 1014 is also interesting. The ruler certifies in it the rights and ownership belonging to the chapter. In addition, it grants exemption from customs duties, and immunity. However, it is interesting to note the terminology used in this document, according to which both free and non-free servants were subject to the chapter, *residentes sive famuli sive liberi*. DD H II, no. 310, p. 390. Similar provisions were subsequently repeated by Lothair III. DD LO III, no. 95, pp. 148–49.

28 The examples of the use of these terms are the documents issued by successive rulers. DD O I, no. 14, p. 101. DD O I, no. 16, p. 104. DD O I, no. 21, pp. 108–9. DD O I, no. 222, p. 306.

29 DD O I, no. 170, p. 252.

30 An example is the subsequent documents issued by Otto I. DD O I, no. 21, p. 109. DD O I, no. 222, p. 306. DD O I, no. 14, p. 101. DD O I, no. 16, p. 104.

31 An example of the use of this term is the document issued by Conrad I for the Bishop of Worms on September 12, 918. DD K I, no. 37, p. 35.

32 “*Ekkehardi chronicon univrsale*,” in *Chronica et Annales Aevi Salici*, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH Ss, 6 (Hanover, 1844), p. 189. “*Haec omnia dum Heinricus audisset, nimis in animo conturbatur et Mogontiam veniens quosdam de residuis adhuc captivis ad se duci praecepit et cum eis de pretio, quo se redimerent, ut dimitterentur, egit. Interea orta seditione inter Mogontinos et Bavenbergenses milites, civitas a Bavenbergensibus inceditur, ita ut tota vel maxima pars eius arsura videretur. Ad quam restinguendam dum Heinricus ipse omnisque populus festinaret, captivi nostri sine custode relictis inventa navi Rhenum transierunt et die noctuque festinantes in patriam suam pervenerunt. Inter quos erat Gerdrud, nobilissimi Ottonis ducis, fratris Herimanni, vidua, quam Lodewig ante biennium fere ceperat et domino suo Heinrico, ut ab ea pecuniam extorqueret, quod et fecit, adduxerat.*” “Brunos Buch vom Sachsenkrieg,” in *Deutsches Mittelalter: Kritische Studentexte des Reichsinstituts für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, ed. Hans-Bernhard Lohmann, MGH Dt. MA 1 (1937) c. 85, pp. 80–1.

source material indicates that they were interesting primarily because of the possibility of using them in production.³³ An example is a document for the monastery of St. Emmeram mentioning the exchange of goods belonging to the monastic center in Regensburg. Among the possessions of the monastery, the number of *mancipia* remaining directly in the service of the church is indicated.³⁴

According to the regulations contained directly in the *Concilium Aspasii episcopi metropolitani Elusani*, those *mancipia* who have been at the service of the Church not only had lighter work to do, but they were also given the right to keep a quarter of the goods they produced.³⁵ A closer look at the monastery's income, demonstrates that, according to information in the obituaries, the monastery regularly received new *mancipia* and *servi*. According to the chronology of the various *necrologia* dating from 975–1001, for service in the monastery of St. Emmeram as many as forty-four slaves were transferred. Among them were ten women (*ancilla, ancillae*), two servants mentioned directly by name (*servus, servi*), and a group of twenty-five sons of slave women. A further seven people are referred to as '*mancipia*'.³⁶

It is significant that the wealth of this monastery was related to the foundation activity of the city's inhabitants, which can also be connected with a group of merchants trading with the Rus' area, who the sources refer to as the *Ruzzarii*.³⁷ The monastery itself was also granted the privilege of collecting ten

33 DD O I, no. 30, p. 116. DD O I, no. 87, p. 169. DD O I, no. 91, p. 173. DD O I, no. 94, p. 177. DD O II, no. 218, p. 247. DD O II, no. 164, p. 184. DD O II, no. 253, p. 287. DD O III, no. 237, p. 653.

34 DD K I, no. 21, p. 20.

35 "*Si quis vero pro remedium animae suae mancipia vel loca sanctis ecclesiis vel monasteris offeri curaverit, conditio, quam qui donaverit scripserit, in omnibus observetur; pariter et de familiis ecclesiae id intuitu pietatis et iustitiae convenit observari, ut familiae Dei leviolem quam privatorum servi opere teneantur, ita ut quarta tributi vel quodlibet operis sui benedictines Deo ex presente tempore sibi a sacerdotibus concessa esse congaudeant.*" "Concilium Aspasii episcopi metropolitani Elusani," in *Concilia aevi Merovingici*, ed. Friedrich Maasen, MGH Conc. 1 (1893), c. 6, p. 114.

36 *Die Urkunden der Deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, ed. Alfred Gawlik, MGH Diplomata 6.3 (1978), no. 509, p. 697 (hereafter cited as DD H IV). *Quellen zur Bayerischen und Deutschen Geschichte*, ed. Franz M. Wittmann, 1 (Munich: Franz, 1856), no. 42, p. 24 (below: *Quellen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte*).

37 "*Ruzzarii quocumque tempore vadant, duo talenta solvant et in reditu ex Ruzia dimidium talentum; duodecim denarios dabunt ubicumque velint intrare.*" *Quellensammlung zur Frühgeschichte der Österreichischen Stadt (bis 1227)*, eds. G. van Herwijnen, P. H. D. Leupen, W. Rausch and W. Katzingera (Leiden/New York/Cologne: Balassi Kiadó, 1992), no. 33, p. 30. The group of merchants mentioned here can be identified with those heading for Ruthenia, mentioned in the Prologue of Gallus Anonymus' *Gesta principum Polonorum*. Gallus probably lists the participants of the trade, which brings together the economic

percent of the goods transported through Regensburg. According to *Annales Mettenses priores*, Regensburg was connected by a trade route with Pannonia.³⁸ Imperial documents show that special privileges were granted to local Jewish merchants, allowing them not only to trade freely, but also export gold, silver, and other metals. These records were included in a diploma issued by Henry IV, and were repeated in subsequent documents by Frederick I and Frederick II.³⁹ These regulations were finally expressed in the privilege granted to the inhabitants of Regensburg by Charles IV.⁴⁰ One of the sources of Regensburg's wealth was probably the slave trade, which was conducted

interests of both the Piasts and Přemyslids, as well as the Arpad dynasty. At the same time, his chronicle explains the ideological and economic significance of these relations consisting in that they were including these dynasts into the area of influence of the Western Empire, for which they were also suppliers of goods sought after in the Empire, e.g. of the particularly valuable pagan *captivi*. "*Sed quia regio Polonorum ab itineribus peregrinorum est remota, et nisi transeuntibus in Rusiam pro mercimonio paucis nota, si breviter inde disseratur nulli videatur absurdum, et si pro parte describendo totum inducatur, memo reputet onerosum.*" *Galli Anonymi Cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, ed. Karol Maleczyński, MPH S II (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności. Wydawnictwa Komisji historycznej, 1952), Prologus, p. 6 (hereafter cited as Gall). The Piasts' relations with the monastery of St. Emmeram are connected with their dynastic relations. Brother of Doubravka, Strachkvas (Kristián), was a monk of the monastery in Regensburg. Later on, he became bishop of Prague.

38 *Annales Mettenses posteriores*, a. 803, ed. Bernhard de Simson, MGH Ss rer. Germ. in usum scholarum 10 (1905), pp. 102–3.

39 DD F I, 10.4, no. 833, p. 44. "*Eapropter notum facimus universis imperii fidelibus presentibus et futuris, quod nos solerter curam gerentes omnium iudeorum in imperio nostro degentium, qui spetiali prerogativa dignitatis nostre ad imperialem cameram dinoscuntur pertinere, iudeis nostris Ratisponensibus bonas consuetudines suas a predecessoribus suis per gratiam et favorem predecessorum nostrorum ad tempora nostra derivatas concedimus eis et imperiali auctoritate confirmamus, videlicet ut eis liceat aurum et argentum et quelibet genera metallorum et res cuiuscunque mercationis vendere et antiquo more suo comparare, res et merces suas commutationi rerum exhibere et utilitatibus suis modis, quibus consueverunt, providere. Nos igitur in omnibus divorum progenitorum nostrorum acta approbantes eorumque vestigia imitari cupientes in omnibus universa prelibata fidelibus nostris iudeis Ratisponensibus secundum iustam postulationem ipsorum confirmamus atque in perpetuum ab omnibus decernimus observari. Statuimus igitur et regali auctoritate sancimus atque sub interminatione gratie nostre precipimus, ut nulla omnino persona humilis vel alta, secularis vel ecclesiastica, nullum commune nullaque potestas hanc libertatem concessionis nostre audeat ipsis iudeis aliquo tempore infringere nec aliquibus caluminiarum iniuriis seu damnis presumat aliquid contra ipsos iudeos attemptare.*" *Die Urkunden der Deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Friedrichs II*, eds. Walter Koch, Klaus Höflinger, Joachim Spiegel and Christian Friedl, MGH Diplomata 14.2 (2007), no. 342, pp. 340–41.

40 "Acta regni Karoli IV," in *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum (911–1197)*, eds. Karl Zeumer and Richard Salomon, MGH Const 1.8 (1910–1926), no. 280, p. 335.

along the Danube. This is already evidenced by the customs provisions in the *Raffelstetten Customs Regulations*.⁴¹

According to the definition in the *Divisio regnorum*, the sale of slaves within the kingdom was carried out in accordance with the regulations governing trade in all other categories of goods which were subject to licensing, thus equating this practice with trade in metals, semi-precious stones, horses, and arms.⁴² According to Cameron Sutt, the legal situation of slaves and the nature of slave institutions in the Early and High Middle Ages is primarily evidenced by the analysis of texts regarding donations given to ecclesiastical institutions. Sutt describes the social and legal position of persons defined as *mancipia* and *servi*, emphasizing that according to regulations referring to Roman law they were classified as *res immobiles*.⁴³ Alice Rio is correct in her

41 "Inquisitio de theloneis Raffelstettensis," in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, eds. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause, MGH Capit. 2 (1897), §1, pp. 250–51. (hereafter cited as Raffelstätten). According to the *Raffelstetten Customs Regulations*, salt, slaves, horses, and wax were traded. The *Regulations* imposed charges on goods transported along the Danube, also allowing merchants the freedom to trade and market goods at the price they set. *Raffelstätten*, §6–7, pp. 251–52. The *Regulations* also mentions the transport of slaves to Linz and Mautern. Later they were probably also transported along the route leading to the Klodzko Valley, and then also through Brno and Prague. The trade route connecting Regensburg with Nuremberg and Mainz also remained important. Using this route, slaves were then sold to the Eastern Empire and to Al Andalus. According to Al-Muqqari, the number of Slavs forming part of the Caliph Guard and serving in the Muslim territory of Córdoba at the end of the reign of Abd al-Rahman III was almost fourteen thousand. Jerzy Hauziński, "O potrzebie nowej edycji," p. 108.

42 "De traditionibus autem atque venditionibus que inter partes fieri solent precipimus, ut nullus ex his tribus fratribus suscipiat de regno alterius a quolibet homine traditionem vel venditionem rerum immobilium, hoc est terrarum, vinearum atque silvarum servorumque qui iam casati sunt sive ceterarum rerum quae hereditatis nomine censentur, excepto auro, argento et gemmis, armis ac vestibus necnon et mancipiis non casatis et his speciebus quae proprie ad negotiatores pertinere noscuntur. Caeteris vero liberis hominibus hoc minime interdendum iudicavimus." "Divisio regnorum," in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (1883), no. 45, §11, pp. 128–29.

43 Cameron Sutt, *Slavery in Árpád-era Hungary in a Comparative Context* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 119–22. The analysis of imperial documents clearly indicates the productive role of persons transferred to ecclesiastical institutions and under the direct hold of the Church. It is worth noting that, contrary to the prevailing opinion among researchers, the slave trade in the Early Middle Ages was widespread and was based on the tradition of Germanic customary laws and Roman law provisions. The distinguishing element of the status of the non-free in antiquity were the regulations in accordance with Christian ideology, introduced by virtue of the synodal legislation. This is evidenced by the mandate of Conrad II, in which the ruler expressed his firm opposition to the sale of slaves offered to the bishopric of Verden. In admonishing the *grafs* and the bishop himself, he demanded of them to undo the injustice that violated the provisions of ecclesiastical law and to bring the slaves back into the service of the Church—or, in if this proved impossible, to

argument that archaeological excavations have made vital contributions to research on trade networks, but unfortunately the scale of the slave trade is difficult to detect through archaeology. However, during the 10th–12th century, slaves were an important part of the internal trade of central areas, and slaves sometimes remained on the market for lack of a suitable group of buyers.⁴⁴ Despite this, trade in humans meant huge profits. Successive regulations introduced in the area of the Empire did not hinder their sale outside the borders of the kingdom. According to Mirabell Fierro, this is evidenced not only by the

undo the injustice that arose from the sale of the slaves and the violation of the prayer obligation that they were the object of. He also emphasized that the *mancipia* were sold beyond the borders of the *regnum* like mindless animals. In this way, he made it clear that the guarantees and customary law related to their settlement in the church property had also been violated. The greatest misdemeanor was, however, the violation of the indivisibility of the church property, which could only be exchanged without any additional incomes unless they were certified by an appropriate document. DD K 11, no. 130, p. 176. See also *Kosmas*, lib. 11, c. 7, p. 92.

- 44 We should agree with Tomáš Petráček's view that slaves in Central and Eastern Europe were an important element of internal trade. Tomáš Petráček, *Power and Exploitation in the Czech Lands in the 10th–12th Centuries* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017), p. 263. Their sale outside the borders of power was possible mainly in the case of pagan *captivi*. At the same time, female burials of Pomeranian people from the Wielkopolska region testify to the importance of non-free people being imported to the centre of the Piast kingdom. Their sale—despite the large number of slaves available on the long-distance exchange markets—depended, according to Helmold, on the “right group of buyers” and differed significantly from the ideas based on an “ethical vision” of the scale of this phenomenon. Nevertheless, trade in humans was an important part of the income of groups of people forming “power networks” in emerging patrimonial monarchies interested in the efficient enforcement of the system of levies and tributes—and in reaping the tangible incomes of trade. It is worth noting that in the case of the mentioned archaeological artifacts connected with the presence of the Pomeranian population in the area of the Piast domain, the primary group of burials is that of women and children; there are no burials of men, however, as exemplified by the archeological site in Rochy. Its chronology is marked by the presence of ceramics associated with the inhabitants of the Baltic area: Vipperov and Menkendorf. Michał Kara, “Osadnictwo ludności pomorskiej i wieleckiej w państwie pierwszych Piastów w świetle znalezisk nekropolicznych z terenu Wielkopolski,” *Slavia Antiqua* 43 (2002), 56–65. Dariusz Kosiński, “Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy Piaski-Rochy,” *Studia Lednickie* 2 (1991), pp. 93–7. Grzegorz Kiarszys, Justyna Kolenda, “Wczesnośredniowieczne grodziska w krajobrazie Doliny Baryczy. Przyczynek do studiów nad przemianami osadniczymi,” *Śląskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 59 (2017), 94–5. Archaeological artifacts from Włoszakowice, Placzków, Latkowa, Pomorzanki, and Zielonki are of similar importance. Also interesting is the function of the network of waterways connecting these areas, through which the Oder River and its tributaries enabled the transport of goods to Prague, to Bohemia, and then further towards the route leading through Ostrava and the former Great Moravia (Stare Mesto, Mikulčice, Pohansko, and Dowina) on the Danube area. *Helmold*, lib. 11, c. 109, p. 215.

ever-increasing number of slaves in Muslim Córdoba, but also by their growing importance in the times of Abd al-Rahman III (889–961) and Al-Hakam II (961–976). Particularly important here were centers such as Mainz, Lyon, and Verdun—famous for providing eunuchs for palace service.⁴⁵ A particularly interesting account by Ibn Hauqal, mentions the sale of castrates through al-Andalus. According to this source, Jewish slaves from France and Galicia, as well as groups of captured Slavs, entered the Muslim markets through merchants.⁴⁶ Perhaps some of the oriental coins found in Central and Eastern Europe are remnants of this trade.⁴⁷ The relationship between the Piasts and Přemyslids, on one side, and the Western Empire, on the other, can also be linked to far-reaching exchanges. As it seems, this is evidenced on the trade route to Lyon through resorts such as Augsburg, Neuburg, Badeu, and Erstein towards Burgundy, and then on to St. Gilles.⁴⁸

45 Mirabell Fierro, *Abd al-Rahman III: The First Cordoban Caliph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 90–3. According to Al-Jahiz, castration caused the slaves to have characteristics desired for the palace service. *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, 1, pp. 166–67.

46 *Arab Travellers in the Far North*, p. 173.

47 In the case of numisma found in treasures from Central and Eastern Europe and Northern Europe, only a small portion of them can be associated with Muslim Spain. Numisma minted by the Samanids, followed by the Abbasids, the Buyids, the Hamdanids, and finally the Umayyads, dominate here. There were also traces of coins attributed to Ziyarids, Saffarids, and finally Uqalids. Among the numisma minted by the Umayyads, one can point to emissions from the times of Hisham II (976–1008) and Ibn Marwan (685–705).

48 The scope of these relations is seen in the elements of the dynastic tradition of the Piasts and Přemyslids and the network of connections as showed in the *Life of St. Ulrich*. This network brought together a group of people with a common political and coordinating interest, including the rulers of the dynasties into the wider networks of the Empire's power. As it seems, the determinants of this relationship also involved economic links, mainly related to the transport of slaves to commercial centres such as Mainz, Verdun, and Lyon. "*Alio quoque tempore quidam dux Wandalorum, Misico nomine, cum sagitta toxicata in brachium vulneratus est. Qui cum sentiret, sese veneno nocivo esse percussum, et sibi imminere mortis interitum eadem hora putaret, cum magna fide et constantia votum vovit, ut brachium argentum cum manu quam cicius potuisset ad sanctum Oudalricum mittere non differet. Qui statim post votum relevatus a periculo, ad domum suam rediit, et brachium secundum suum votum componere praecepit. Cumque fabri brachium fabricare coepissent, et manum in eo fingerent, dux continuo de imminente periculo liberatus surrexit, Deum laudans, qui cum per merita sui sancti episcopi de mortis periculo liberavit.*" "Gerhardi vita sancti Oudalrici episcopi," in *Annales, chronica et historiae aevi Carolini et Saxonici*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH Ss 4 (1841), c. 22, p. 423 (hereafter cited as *Vita sancti Oudalrici*). Also interesting is the amount of these donations, which were made to St. Ulrich in exchange for the miracle allegedly experienced by the Piasts and Přemyslids through intercession of the holy bishop of Augsburg. "*Eodem vero die filius ducis conversus ad vitam, consolationem patri non minimam obtulit. Qui cognoscens misericordiam Dei in filio, nuntios statim*

It is possible that trade relations also largely determined the presence of members of the Piast dynasty among the aristocratic elites of the Empire.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the relations between the Piasts and the Přemyslids, visible in their dynastic policy, were connected with the flow of goods and with the access to luxurious goods, such as silk.⁵⁰ Their importance seems to be

mittere et votum eius implere studuit. Qui venientes ad sepulchrum, obtulerunt 5 libras argenti et aureos quam plurimos et de cera quantum unus fortis soumarium portare potuit; mater etiam pueri seorsum denariorum aureorum bonam partem pro filio misit. Legati etiam altare sanctae Mariae cum auro et aliis oblationibus, sicut eis praeceptum est, devote visitaverunt, similiter altare sanctae Aefrae.” Vita sancti Oudalrici, c. 21, p. 423.

49 It is possible that the Piasts maintained trade relations with the Ishmaelites. It was by their intermediary that Mieszko offered to the imperial court a camel, which aroused great interest and admiration, as well as a number of other “foreign objects.” “986. *Otto rex adhuc puerulus cum magno exercitu Saxonum venit in Sclaviam, ibique venit ad eum Misaco cum multitudine nimia, obtulique ei unum camelum et alia xenia multa, et se ipsum etiam subdidit potestati illius.*” *Annales Hildesheimenses*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH Ss rer. Germ. in usum scholarum 8 (1878), a. 986, p. 24 (hereafter cited as *Annales Hildesheimenses*).

50 In this case, the analysis of Piasts’ and Przemyslids’ foundation entries from the period of reconstruction of their dynastic relations arouses interest. This aspect is reflected in a series of entries dating back to the times of Bolesław Wrymouth. By marrying Salomea of Berg—and by her sisters’ marriages: Richeza with Vladislav I, and Sophia with Otto the Black—it was possible to calm the political situation and re-establish far-reaching commercial relations. Berthold of Zwiefalten’s *Chronicle* testifies to this. In fact, after the period of foundations made mainly in silver and fur, foundations made in silk again appear here. “*Bolezlaus dux Boloniae cappam nigram albos boves habentem intextos misit; in auro, argento, palliis et maxime in multiplicibus et diversis pretiosi velleris rebus plus quam septuaginta marcas huic monasterio contulit. Salome uxor eius stolam auream, duas albas ex sericis factas, urceum argentum quatuor marcas appendentem misit, scrinium eburneum auro insignitum, mantellum suum rubeum ad cappam aurifrisio decoratum, alium etiam mantellum ad casulam totum auro intextum, magno aurifrisio circumdatum, inferius limbum rubeum habentem, secundum morem gentis illius auro instellatum. Tria dorsalia, unum serico lembo circumdatum, unum albis leonibus plenum, unum rubeum, albis foliis plenum.*” “*Bertholdi liber de constructione monasterii Zwivildensis,*” in *Annales et chronica aevi Salici. Vitae aevi Carolini et Saxonici*, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH Ss 10 (1852), c. 13, pp. 103–4 (hereafter cited as *Bertholdi Zwifaltensis chronicon*). “*Denique ista prefata Salome ducissa semel in uno anno, me huic loco tunc presidente, per nuncios nostros haec sancte Dei genitrici transmisit dona: Manum sancti Stephani prothomartiris cum cute, carnibus et unguibus excepto pollice, et alias reliquias sanctorum nonaginta, inter quas precipue enituit magna pars sanctae crucis, dens sancti Iohannis baptistae, dens sancti Pangratii, dens sanctae Ceciliae, de sanguine Domini, de lacte sanctae Mariae, de catena sancti Petri. Insuper centum libras argenti, unam casulam cum aurifrisio decoratam, crucem auream plus quam quatuor marcas auri pondus habentem, calicem argenteum deauratum, urceum argenteum deauratum, pene sex marcas appendentem. Stolam auro decoratum cum fanone, unum perpendiculum vel cingulum, unam dalmaticam auro per totum contextam, quinquaginta vel plus marcarum precium habentem, unum subtile nigrum auro insignitum, unam mapulam vel fanonem auro contextum, quae duo 20 marcarum possunt habere precium. Unum*

evidenced by how the wealth of the Early-Christian authorities is described in Gallus Anonymous' Chronicle (died after 1116).⁵¹

According to this chronicler's accounts, Bolesław the Brave (967–1025) was quite wealthy and that he possessed silver, gold, decorative fabrics, "the most precious furs," and semi-precious stones.⁵² The source of prosperity for early-Christian authorities was mainly military expeditions, which resulted not only in "endless riches" for the Piasts, but captives as well.⁵³ Perhaps it was precisely because of the captives that Thietmar not only emphasized his reluctance towards Bolesław the Brave, but also called him, a bit contemptuously, "brother of Margrave Guncellin" (Guncellin's fault was selling "slaves belonging to different masters" to Jewish merchants.)⁵⁴

dorsale ex sericis contextum, unum scrinium eburneum, unum cristallumpulcherrimum, tres equos, duas auri uncias, duas pelles, unam canam, alteram migalinam. Mitram episcopi cum chirotheis insuper quatuor marcas et tria pallia cum aliis munusculis. Haec omnia ad nos usque per multa terrarum spacia salva licet vix propter incursantes latrones et intacta venerunt. Nonnulla vero, id est unum psalterium magnum auro conscriptum, unum dorsale, unum tapete, quae ambo ob sui magnitudinem quoniam duo equi ad haec portanda vix possent sufficere cum aliis rebus, quae adhuc silentio sunt tegenda, remanserunt." Bertholdi Zwifaltensis chronicon, c. 13, p. 104.

- 51 On the subject of monastic relations between the area of the Piast Dynasty and the Empire, see Marek Derwich, "Benedyktyni polscy w średniowiecznej Europie. Kontakty z opactwami z obszaru Cesarstwa" in *Opactwo Sankt Gallen a Polska: Materiały Międzynarodowej Konferencji zorganizowanej dnia 19 listopada 1999 roku*, eds. Jerzy Wyrozumski and Werner Vogler (Cracow: MCK, 2001), pp. 40–52. *Gall*, lib. I, c. 6, p. 21.
- 52 The affluence of the early-Christian authorities in the chronicle narration is evidenced not only by the splendor of the Congress of Gniezno, but also by the story of the construction of the church organization and foundations carried out by Bolesław the Brave. *Gall*, lib. I, c. 6, 11, pp. 20–21, 30–31.
- 53 It seems that pagan *captivi*, which were obtained in the area of Prussia and Pomerania, were of particular importance. Gall in his *Gesta principum Polonorum* assigned an important role to these expeditions. The chronicler mentions subsequent military campaigns undertaken by Polish rulers, each time pointing also to the importance of loot seized—and especially valued prisoners of war, who were to be followed by Piast troops, particularly willing to catch "boys and girls." Gall's statement could refer to a certain category of slaves sought after on the far-reaching markets for the exchange of slaves intended primarily to serve in the palace. *Gall*, lib. II, c. 28, p. 96. *Gall*, lib. II, c. 15, p. 79. *Gall*, lib. II, c. 48, p. 118. *Gall*, lib. III, c. 18, p. 144.
- 54 *Thietmar*, lib. V, c. 36, p. 260. *Thietmar*, lib. VI, c. 54, p. 340. *Thietmar*, lib. VI, c. 33, p. 314. *Thietmar*, lib. V, c. 18, p. 243. "*Hec igitur omnia ad aures regis perveniunt, nec mora ipse Merseburg ad hec discutienda properavit. Cumque ibidem prefatorum comitum sententias advertisset, culpam omnem Guncelino marchioni imputat, quia se prius in multis spreverat et de illato sibi dedecore ultorem non expectaret. Adiecit quoque hiis, quod familias multorum sepe id sibi conquerencium Iudeis vendidit nec iussu suo has reddere mandavit nec eciam latrocinia a sua potestate nocencia aliquando compescere curavit. Questus est eciam*



FIGURE 4.1
The Gniezno Doors, 12th century

The expression used by Thietmar testifies to the sale of slaves outside the *regnum*, on the long-distance exchange markets. Contrary to the binding orders, not only did the margrave make no attempt to recover them, but neither did he want to refrain from invading the castles of the ruler's allies, despite a clear royal order on that matter. According to Thietmar, Guncelin was first of all a supporter of Bolesław the Brave, and a man who did not intend to give up the pursuit of unimaginable wealth.⁵⁵ This is demonstrated by the mention of markgraf Herman and Ekkehard's von Meissen raid on Guncellin's castle on the banks of Soława River. According to the chronicler, the margrave had gathered there "endless treasures," which fell prey to invading grafs.

As far as the slave trade is concerned, the story of Bolesław the Brave's expeditions, which could have been a reaction to the recession and the slowdown in the flow of goods, is also interesting. They seem to have led to the direct assumption of control over centers receiving certain categories of goods (primarily slaves), and to the restoration of their movement. In this way one can explain both the Piast expeditions aimed at conquering Kiev and Prague, as

maiores apud Bolizlaum, fratrem suum, gratiam hactenus habere eum, quam deceret aut sibi placere deberet." Thietmar, lib. VI, c. 54, p. 341.

55 "Heremannus comes et Guncelinus marchio interea invicem dissidentes in hiis Saxonum regionibus insuitato more conflixere. Namque Guncelinus Strelam civitatem a militibus Heremanni custoditam expugnare temptans et nil proficiens, Heremanni custoditam expugnare temptans et nil proficiens, Rocholenci urbem iuxta Mildam flumen sitam non bene provisam incendio consumere precepit. Quicquid tandem incommoditatis predicto comiti, quia semper patrum in fratrum filios serviunt, facere potuit, id nullatenus distulit. Econtra Heremannus et Ekkihardus fratres castellum quoddam iuxta Salam situm, quod Guncelinus unice sibi dilectum muris et presidio firmaverat bonisque innumerabilibus repleverat, ex improviso circumdantes expugnat et, divisa inter se omni illa congerie, radicatus illud decidunt et incendio consumunt." Thietmar, lib. VI, c. 53, p. 341.

well as the aspirations to conquer Milsk, Lusatia, and Meissen.⁵⁶ Bolesław sent a message to Byzantium after the conquest of Kiev with a clear purpose in mind.⁵⁷ According to Gallus Anonymus, after the fall of the city of Bolesław the Brave, for eleven months he was obligated to send money to his country, and then put a “Ruthenian of his family” on the throne.⁵⁸

At the same time, taking over the trade routes connecting central areas with Barbaricum was a common practice in case of recession, which led to a temporary takeover of surplus production. What was important here was not real military and political control, but rather the reaping of immediate economic gains through the efficient use of the system of tributes, taxes, and tariffs. The military expeditions were also a kind of “warning” and taming possible opposition to the foreign sovereignty. It is worth noting that the Rus’ military campaigns aimed at conquering the centers of exchange located in the area of Khazar’s power, and the mentioned wars of Simeon against Byzantium.⁵⁹

56 In this case, the relations between Bolesław the Brave and Gunzelin and the Ekkehardines are again interesting. Thietmar writes that Bolesław could not obtain the castle in Meissen even for the highest amount of money; he also had difficulty in getting the castle granted to Gunzelin. The chronicler also mentioned the friendship between Bolesław the Brave and Gunzelin, who feared the loss of royal grace and, contrary to earlier agreements, did not want to agree to the handover of Meissen to Bolesław the Brave. The same fragment also refers to the devastation of the land of Glomacze by Bolesław the Brave and the abduction of its inhabitants into captivity. “*Interea, dum rex hanc urbem Cruzni possideret, Bolizlaus eum in aliquo ledere summopere nisus clam exercitum collegit et per nuncios suos Guncelinum fratrem suum hortatur, ut memor firme promissionis urbem Misnensem sue dicioni redderet amicitiamque pristinam renovaret. Ille autem, sciens istius sathane ingressu a gracia regis et dignitate sua se penitus excludendum, mandatis istis taliter respondit: ‘Omnia, que preter hec a me, frater, expetis, libenter impendo et, si unquam hec faciendi oportunitas michi acciderit, non recuso. [...] Duae autem phalanges premissae, ne sui aliquam a marchione molestiam paterentur, providere studebant Totus hic pagus, qui Zlomizi dicitur, optime tum excultus, in una hac die igne, gladio et habitatoris eductione flebiliter desolatur.’* Thietmar, lib. v, c. 36, pp. 261–2.

57 “*Ad Greciam quoque sibi proxicitus ex nostris oppecit, quem imperator noster in vinculis diu retinuit. Ex illa die Bolizlaus optata prosperitate inimicos palantes insequitur et ab incolis omnibus suscipitur multisque muneribus honoratur.*” Thietmar, lib. VIII, c. 32, pp. 530–531.

58 Bolesław the Brave was to appoint a husband of one of his daughters, Sviatopolk, as Grand Prince of Kiev. “*Igitur rex Bolezlaus urbe ditissima regnoque Ruthenorum potentissimo decem mensibus ppositus, inde pecuniam in Poloniam transmittendo nunquam exitit otiosus, undecimo vero mense, quia regna quam plurima tenebat et puerum ad regnandum Meschonem adhuc ydoneum non videbat, loco sui quodam ibi Rutheno sui generis in dominum constituto, cum thesauro residuo Poloniam remeabat.*” Gall, lib. 1, c. 7, p. 23.

59 Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium’s Balkan Frontier*, pp. 21–2. Dennis P. Hupchick, in his study on the importance of this conflict, points to the unfortunate decision by Byzantium to restrict trade with Bulgaria. See Dennis Hupchick, *The Bulgarian-Byzantine Wars for*

This confirms the hypothesis that the commercial networks of the time were vulnerable to crisis. They can also be seen as attempts to break the existing prohibitions and regulations on supervising and licensing the sale of certain categories of goods in central areas. This is evidenced in particular by the reactions to the restrictions on trade in silk imposed in the Eastern Empire.⁶⁰

Salt, wax, honey, and dyes were also among the goods important for the development of interregional trade. Dyes were used mainly in the production of fabrics as well as for cosmetic purposes.⁶¹ This is mentioned in the accounts of Ibrahim ibn Yaquub in the version of al-Qazwini. In the description of the goods originating in Schleswig he mentions eye colouring, used by both women and men.⁶² Ibrahim also paid special attention to white and turquoise yarns available on the exchange markets.⁶³ He also describes the practice of salt extraction by the inhabitants of Soest, who evaporated the brine from a salt spring to obtain hard white salt.⁶⁴ The salt trade is also mentioned in a number of imperial documents, showing that it was an important part of the incomes of church institutions.⁶⁵ Salt was obtained in large quantities for, among other things, the preservation of fish, which were subsequently exported to the territory of the Western Empire, mainly from Rügen. Information on this subject can be found in Helmold's Chronicle.⁶⁶ Honey and wax were particularly valued goods. This is mentioned in both oriental texts and Latin sources, for example in the account of Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati,⁶⁷ as well as several imperial diplomas attesting to the collection of tributes and tithing in the form of coin and wax.⁶⁸ Some of it directly met the needs of the

Early Medieval Balkan Hegemony: Silver-lined Skulls and Blinded Armies (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 153–210.

60 Hans-Wilhelm Haussig, *Die Praxis des Warenaustausches im Warägerhandel mit den chasarischen Märkten Sarkel und Itil*, in *Der Handel Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit*, pp. 534–39.

61 An example is Polish cochineal used to dye silk and wool. This pigment was brought to the areas of today's Syria and Iraq, probably via Prague, Regensburg, Mainz, Verdun, and the Rhône Valley. Tadeusz Lewicki, *Ze studiów nad źródłami arabskimi*, pp. 28–32.

62 *Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an germanische Fürstenhöfe*, p. 29.

63 *Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an germanische Fürstenhöfe*, p. 32.

64 *Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an germanische Fürstenhöfe*, p. 22.

65 DD O I, no. 32, p. 118. DD O I, no. 202, p. 282. DD O I, no. 183, p. 266. DD O II, no. 31, p. 41.

66 *Helmold*, lib. II, c. 108, pp. 213–14.

67 *Arab Travellers in the Far North*, p. 71.

68 DD H II, no. 14, p. 17. DD K II, no. 41, p. 47. DD H III, no. 165, p. 207. In the case of this income, a document about the monastery in Brauweiler is of interest. DD H III, no. 273, p. 373.

Church, while the rest was probably sold, as evidenced by the Raffelstetten Customs Regulations.⁶⁹

In Abu Hamid's account, it is interesting to note the price values he observed in Hungary. Abu Hamid—the traveler from Andalusia—mentioned that for one dinar he could buy twenty sheep, thirty lambs, or thirty children. Five hundred rats of honey had the same value.⁷⁰ Honey was a highly valued commodity; Cosmas of Prague's Chronicle scrupulously records information not only on yields, but also on the availability of honey in the forests and plains.⁷¹ The chronicler also mentions periods of honey shortage.⁷²

Honey made up part of the income of the monastic communities through, for example, many donations and of the tithing and collection of rent for the Magdeburg monastery. They resulted from Otto I's document from 28 June 965 issued in Wallhausen.⁷³ The subsequent donations made to the monastic centers by successive rulers is of similar importance.⁷⁴ Among them there is a document for the bishop's church in Meissen, in which Otto II granted the right to collect customs duties, including in the form of honey and crops, in the Elbe area (designating its range from Belgerm to Meissen).⁷⁵ A document issued on 24 August 1055 by Henry III for Pavia, Verona, Cremona, Ravenna, and Venice provides further information on these practices. The ruler granted relief in customs duties to local merchants, as well as the right to hold courts, and organize

69 The customs regulations also directly indicate the origin of merchants transporting salt and wax. "*Sclavi vero, qui de Rugis vel de Boemanis mercandi causa exeunt, ubicunque iuxta ripam Danubii vel ubicunque in Rotalariis vel in Reodariis loca mercandi optinuerint, de sogma una de cera duas massiolas, quarum utraque scoti unum veleat.*" Raffelstätten, §6, p. 251.

70 *Arab Travellers in the Far North*, p. 80. For the weight unit mentioned in the relation, see Walther Hinz, *Islamische Maße und Gewichte umgerechnet ins metrische System*, pp. 8–9.

71 "*Eodem anno maxima fuit ubertas tam autumno quam vere seminatis in frugibus, nisi quod grandio locis nocuit in pluribus; mel autem in campenstribus fuit habunde, in silvestribus locis minime.*" Kosmas, lib. III, c. 52, p. 225.

72 "*Augusti XI. Hora diei solis eclypsis fuit, et secuta est maxima pestilentia boum, ovium, atque suum; apes multe interierunt, penuria mellis fuit nimia. Segestes autumnales defuerunt simul et vernalis preter solum milium et pisam.*" Kosmas, lib. III, c. 57, pp. 232–33.

73 DD O I, no. 303, p. 418. Otto also mentioned the tithing taken in honey in another of the documents issued for the monastic community in Magdeburg. DD O I, no. 446, p. 604. These were then confirmed in a document issued by Otto II on 5 June 973 in Magdeburg and in a document issued by Henry II on 13 November 1004. DD O II, no. 30, p. 40. DD H II, no. 88, pp. 111–12.

74 An example: DD O III, no. 384, p. 813. It is also worth noting the document issued for the princes of Remiremont in 1071, regulating the obligations arising from the king's stay in Metz and Toul. In it, the ruler indirectly pointed to the subject of the monastery economy. DD H IV, no. 237, p. 301.

75 DD O II, no. 184, pp. 208–9.

three-day fairs, while collecting his fees in fabrics, flocks of animals, pepper, cinnamon, and honey.⁷⁶

As for as the goods traded, the acquisition and the distribution of raw materials and bullion are of significance. The licensing of trade in lead, tin, iron, and semi-precious stones is particularly interesting, as their sale was regulated by numerous privileges, rules, and orders.⁷⁷ In later periods, the sale of these goods was also part of the royal *regale* in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in Scandinavia and the Balkan Peninsula. These goods were sometimes a source of considerable income for the centers possessing them. This is evidenced by the salary donated by Otto I to the monastery of St. Maximilian in Trier. The ruler granted gold, silver, iron, and salt to the monastery.⁷⁸ In Otto III's document, there are references to the transfer of open-cast pits (from which bog iron was extracted) to the monastery in Magdeburg.⁷⁹

A diploma issued by Otto II for Beatrix is of interest as it mentions the levying of customs duties on iron and iron items.⁸⁰ For fairs famous for their iron trade, it was important to enable the sale and purchase of these items, as well as to provide direct these trade centers with production facilities. Since customs duties usually accounted for a tenth of the raw material produced, logistical organisation was a great challenge. For example, a document issued by Henry III for a group of merchants selling iron 'and other goods' throughout the Empire shows that they were obliged to supply the royal chamber with a thousand pounds of iron a year. This amount makes it possible to estimate not only the volume of production itself, but also the quantity of bog iron and charcoal necessary for the production of items sold through the merchants of Scalvetales.⁸¹

According to Henry III's document, the estimated weight of iron produced was around 10,000 pounds. A historical experiment carried out at the AGH University of Science and Technology in Kraków proved that it was necessary to use twenty kilograms of bog iron and thirty kilograms of charcoal in order to obtain two kilograms of iron. Such a scale of production required about one

76 DD H III, no. 351, p. 478.

77 The source texts are divided into two categories: one of iron, and the other of other metals, lead, bronze, and tin. Therefore, without precise archaeological data, it is difficult to indicate the object of production and redistribution of these categories. The term *metallum* is very imprecise. A reference to the importance of lead for merchants can be found in Ibrahim ibn Yaqub's account. *Ibrahim*, p. 49 and p. 146.

78 DD O I, no. 459, p. 624.

79 DD O I, no. 214, p. 296.

80 DD O III, no. 308, p. 365.

81 DD H III, no. 199, pp. 255–57.



FIGURE 4.2
Georgius Agricola, *De re metallica libri XII* (Basel, 1556)

day's work.⁸² Therefore, the quantity of raw materials needed to organise the production in question was significantly large. To pay the customs duty alone, approximately four tonnes of bog iron and more than five and a half tonnes of charcoal were needed. This type of undertaking required appropriate raw material, transport and, most importantly, settlement facilities. It was a considerable logistical challenge. Assuming that those duties constituted the customary tenth of the whole production, *Scalvetales* merchants could have had at their disposal an annual quantity of iron, for the production of which more than forty tonnes of bog iron and almost sixty tonnes of charcoal were used.

Concerning the use of raw materials and natural resources, a group of references to the extraction and distribution of bullion is also of interest.⁸³ In the Viking era, silver was of particular importance. This ore is commonly regarded as one of the stimulators of social and economic transformations taking place in the 9th–12th century. It was this 'silver rush' that, on the one hand was said to have led merchants to the most distant corners of the world, while on the other, it contributed to the creation of a special kind of 'economic' zone, combining interactions among the Muslim world, the post-Carolingian area, and the Eastern Empire.⁸⁴ It was also connected with the phenomenon of medieval

82 <http://www.surowce-naturalne.pl/strona/ruda-darniowa-%E2%80%93-pospolity-surowiec-ktory-zmienil-bieg-historii>.

83 Erhard Jörn and Robert Jörn, "Der Beginn des Westharzer Bergbaus auf Silber und die Schaffung der Otto-Adelheid-Pfennige," *Wiedaer Hefte* 5 (1997), 48.

84 Dagfinn Skre, "Viking-Age economic transformations: The West-Scandinavian case," in *Viking-Age Transformations: Trade, Craft and Resources in Western Scandinavia*, eds. Zanette T. Glørstad and Kjetil Loftsgarden, (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 1–22. Dagfinn



FIGURE 4.3
Historia de gentibus Septentrionalibus
(Rome, 1555)

hoards.⁸⁵ According to source texts, silver deposits reaching European markets came from Al-Andalus, Bohemia, Goslar, Mensfeld, and Khorasan.⁸⁶

Sources pointing to the extraction of ore include not only the work of Al-Masudi (c. 896–956) and a letter from Hasdai ibn Shaprut (c. 916–970) to King Joseph, but also a number of Latin texts.⁸⁷ The latter sources also distinguished two types of silver, two categories of bullion: ‘silver’ and ‘pure silver’.⁸⁸

Skre, “Scandinavian monetisation in the first millennium A.D.: Practices and Institutions,” in *Encounters, Excavations and Argosies*, eds. John Mitchell, John Moreland and Bea Leal, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2017), pp. 291–97.

85 Dagfinn Skre, “Monetary practices in Early Medieval Western Scandinavia,” *Medieval Archeology* 61 (2017), 277–90.

86 According to the data on the inventory of bullion finds, at least 1151 bullion finds, containing a total of 245,768 coins and 19,701 other elements, originate from the territory of present-day Poland alone. Although the stratification of these finds on the basis of geographical criterion (traditionally according to the district criterion) is partly a reflection of, among other things, the state of archaeological research and, consequently, the archaeological recognition of individual areas—their total number show the scale of silver flow in the period before the district’s disintegration. The collected material enables verification of individual finds with regard to the origin of particular numisma and their assignment to specific groups. It also allows us to pose a number of research questions concerning the economic functioning of the early-Christian area and to point to the economic relations between the Piasts, the Western Empire, and the Muslim world. For this reason, the research conducted by Stanisław Suchodolski and Mateusz Bogucki is invaluable. Stanisław Suchodolski, Mateusz Bogucki, “Inwentaryzacja wczesnośredniowiecznych znalezisk pieniędzy kruszcowego w Polsce,” *Przegląd Archeologiczny* 65 (2017), 62.

87 *List Chasdaja do króla Chazarów Józefa*, ed. August Bielowski, MPH SS 1 (Lwów, 1864), p. 62 (hereafter cited as *List Chasdaja do króla Chazarów*). *Les Praires d’or: Texte et Traduction Maçoudi*, eds. Charles Barbier de Maynard and Pavet de Courteille, 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Imperiale, 1861), c. 16, p. 367 (hereafter cited as *Macoudi, Les Praires d’or*).

88 Information on the donation of gold and pure silver can be found in Otto III’s document for the monastery in Bobbio. The annual donation was sixty silver brands. DD O III, no. 335, p. 763. DD O III, no. 280, p. 705. An example of this is Henry II’s document for the bishop’s church in Hamburg. In addition to the privilege of minting coin, the collection of duties, and the upholding of immunities, the ruler took care of the merchants. DD H II, no. 50, p. 60.

On the Scandinavian Peninsula a distinction was made between 'pure silver' and 'burnt' silver.⁸⁹

There are also valuable source references to the operation of silver mines in the area of the Western Empire. These include the Conrad II diploma, giving the silver mines in the Breisgau area to the Basel monastic community.⁹⁰ The donation was later supported by Henry IV and Lothair III.⁹¹ The total amount of donations and payments provided in silver is noteworthy.⁹² In many cases they amounted to as much as a thousand libras of pure ore. It is worth noting that a similar, significant dimension of donations can also be observed in the case of gold.⁹³ Latin sources distinguished three categories of bullion: gold (*aurum-i*), pure gold (made from *auri puri*), and the purest gold (made from *auri purissimi*).⁹⁴ Interestingly, these gold donations were most often found in Italy. One example is the donation made by Otto II to the monastery of St. Hilary and Benedict in Venice. The ruler gave one thousand libras of the purest gold to this monastic community.⁹⁵ According to Yehuda Ha-Kohen ben Meir (1028–1070), gold was also used in trade in the Magyars area.⁹⁶

89 Grágás, c. 245, p. 192.

90 "Quoniam ad salutem corporis et anime nostre parentumque nostrorum profuturum esse credimus, si aliqua ad nostrum imperiale ius pertinencia ecclesiis dei conferimus, ideo omnibus Christi nostrique fidelibus presentibus scilicet et futuris notum esse volumus, qualiter nos pio interventu dilecte coniugis nostre Gisele videlicet imperatricis atque karissimi filii nostri Heinrichi regis nec non domini Odalrici sancte Basiliensis ecclesie venerabilis episcopi obtemperantes petitioni quasdam venas et fossiones argenti in comitatu Bertholdi et in pago Brisichgouwe atque in locis Moseberch, Lupercheimhaha, Cropacvh, Steinbronnen superius et inferius et in valle Sulzberc, Baden, Luxberc nominatis aliisque inibi locis inventas et sitas, quicquid inde nostrum ius attingit, cum omni utilitate, que ullo modo inde provenire queat, ecclesie supra scripte contulimus et in perpetuum tradidimus." DD K II, no. 133, p. 180.

91 DD H IV, no. 258, p. 328. DD Lo III, no. 39, p. 64.

92 DD K I, no. 3, p. 4. 3 libras of silver for the altar of St. Peter: DD O I, no. 170, p. 252. 10 shackles of silver: DD O I, no. 199, p. 199. 30 libras of silver: DD O I, no. 263, p. 376. 30 libras of silver: DD O I, no. 334, p. 449. 10 mins of silver: DD O III, no. 2, p. 396. 60 marks of silver: DD O III, no. 335, p. 763. 100 libras of silver: DD O III, no. 394, p. 825. 10 000 measures of silver: DD O III, no. 411, p. 845. 100 libras of silver: DD H II, no. 172, p. 203. 2000 measures of silver: DD H II, no. 299, p. 369. All the silver due to the imperial chamber in Bremen: DD H II, no. 325, p. 411. libra of silver: DD K II, no. 106, p. 149. 1000 libras of silver: DD K II, no. 249, p. 344. 1000 libras of silver: DD K II, no. 288, p. 406.

93 DD O II, no. 244, p. 276.

94 DD O II, no. 250, p. 285.

95 DD O II, no. 240, p. 270.

96 *Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian i niektórych innych ludów Środkowej i Wschodniej Europy*, eds. Franciszek Kupfer and Tadeusz Lewicki (Wrocław/Warsaw: Zakład im. Ossolińskich, 1956), p. 292.

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe, based on a source analysis^a

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
saddles	-/production	Prague	No Data Available	Ibrahim ibn Yaqub according to Al-Bakri's account, pp. 149–50
bridles	-/production	Prague	NDA	Ibrahim ibn Yaqub according to Al-Bakri's account, pp. 149–50
shields	-/production	Prague	NDA	Ibrahim ibn Yaqub according to Al-Bakri's account, pp. 149–50
slaves	exchanged for commodities/ coins	Prague	NDA	Ibrahim ibn Yaqub according to Al-Bakri's account, pp. 149–50
lead	exchanged for commodities/ coins	Prague	NDA	Ibrahim ibn Yaqub according to Al-Bakri's account, pp. 149–50
furs	exchanged for commodities/ coins	Prague	NDA	Ibrahim ibn Yaqub according to Al-Bakri's account, pp. 149–50
wheat/rye	bought for silver coins, one "qinsar"—qirat nitar	Prague	coin	Ibrahim ibn Yaqub according to Al-Bakri's account, pp. 149–50
barley	exchanged for coins; one "qinsar"—qirat nitar	Prague	coin	Ibrahim ibn Yaqub according to Al-Bakri's account, pp. 149–50

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
10 hens	exchanged for coins	Prague	coin	Ibrahim ibn Yaqub according to Al-Bakri's account, pp. 149–50
“linen napkins”	as an exchange equivalent	Prague	commodities (wheat, slaves, flour, horses, gold, silver) /coin	Ibrahim ibn Yaqub according to Al-Bakri's account, pp. 149–50
horses	“exported to other countries”	Naqun country	NDA	Ibrahim ibn Yaqub according to Al-Bakri's account, pp. 149–50
salt	-/collection	Shushit (Soest)	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini's account, p. 22
gold	“abundance of gold and silver”— Ebulda wealth	Ebulda (Fulda)	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini's account, p. 24
silver	“abundance of gold and silver”— Ebulda wealth	Ebulda (Fulda)	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini's account, p. 24
gemstones: jacinth and emerald	“stones decorating a martyr's image”— Ebulda wealth	Ebulda (Fulda)	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini's account, p. 24
“commodities”	“exchanged for a price showed/ written on a stall”	Asht (Asti)	NDA	Al-Qazwini according to Al-Udri's account, pp. 24–5
			“for a price set beforehand that another [man] will accept”	

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
cattle (sheep?)	NDA / "livelihood of Itracht residents"	Itraht (Utrecht)	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini's account, pp. 25–6
milk	NDA / "livelihood of Itracht residents"	Itraht (Utrecht)	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini's account, pp. 25–6
wool	NDA / "livelihood of Itracht residents"	Itraht (Utrecht)	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini's account, pp. 25–6
glass	/production ("using a stove and bellows, due to lack of wood in this area")	Itraht (Utrecht)	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini's account, pp. 25–6
burnus/pearl-decorated coat	monetary exchange	Irlanda (Ireland)	100 pieces of gold	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini's account, pp. 26–7
fish	Shleshwiq wealth	Shleshwiq	NDA	Al-Qazwini according to At-Turtushi (Ibrahim), p. 29
eye colorant	"when used there is no more beautiful (woman)"; used by men and women alike	Shleshwiq	NDA	Al-Qazwini according to At-Turtushi (Ibrahim), p. 29
grapewine	"Kermala wealth"	Château	NDA	Al-Qazwini according to At-Turtushi, p. 30

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
Arab coins minted by Nafr, son of Ahmed, 301 and 302 H (913–915)	“seen by Ibrahim in Mainz”/ commodity/ monetary circulation?	Mainz	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini’s account, p. 31
wheat	Magandshe wealth	Mainz	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini’s account, p. 31
barley	Magandshe wealth	Mainz	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini’s account, p. 31
grapewine	Magandshe wealth	Mainz	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini’s account, p. 31
fruits	Magandshe wealth	Mainz	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini’s account, p. 31
pepper	commodity sold in market in Mainz	Mainz	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini’s account, p. 31
imbir	commodity sold in market in Mainz	Mainz	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini’s account, p. 31
cloves	commodity sold in market in Mainz	Mainz	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini’s account, p. 31
nardus	commodity sold in market in Mainz	Mainz	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini’s account, p. 31
costus	commodity sold in market in Mainz	Mainz	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini’s account, p. 31

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
galangal	commodity sold in market in Mainz	Mainz	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini's account
swords sharper than Indian ones	commodity sold by Ifrang	land of Ifranga (country of Franks)	NDA	Al-Qazwini, p. 31
fish	Mashqah land's wealth (Mieszko I's land)	Mashqah	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini's account, pp. 22–3
meat	Mashqah land's wealth	Mashqah	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini's account, pp. 22–3
honey	Mashqah land's wealth	Mashqah	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini's account, pp. 22–3
horse/steed	given freely in Mashqah land	Mashqah	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini's account, pp. 22–3
saddles	given freely in Mashqah land	Mashqah	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini and Al-Bakri's account, pp. 22–3
bridles	given freely in Mashqah land	Mashqah	NDA	Ibrahim according to Al-Qazwini and Al-Bakri's account, pp. 22–3
silver	extracted in the mines of Ifranga land	land of Ifranga	NDA	Al-Qazwini, p. 25

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
sheep	Intraht wealth	Intraht (Utrecht)	NDA	Al-Qazwini, pp. 25–6
wool	Intraht wealth	Intraht (Utrecht)	NDA	Al-Qazwini, pp. 25–6
milk	Intraht wealth	Intraht (Utrecht)	NDA	Al-Qazwini, pp. 25–6
turf	Intraht wealth	Intraht (Utrecht)	NDA	Al-Qazwini, pp. 25–6
ambergris	collected in Bordhil	Bordhil	NDA	Al-Qazwini, p. 28
wheat	Rodum wealth	Rodum	NDA	Al-Qazwini, p. 28
spelt	Rodum wealth	Rodum	NDA	Al-Qazwini, p. 28
salmun [salmon]	Rodum wealth	Rodum	NDA	Al-Qazwini, p. 28
cattle	Shashin wealth	Shashin	NDA	Al-Qazwini, pp. 32–3
gold ornaments (chains and bracelets)	ornaments worn by inhabitants and powerful in Shashin land	Shashin	NDA	Al-Qazwini, pp. 32–3
wool (white and turquoise coloured)	Shashin wealth	Shashin	NDA	Al-Qazwini, 32–3
robes	given freely by M.s.q (Mieszko I)	land of M.s.q (Mieszko I)	NDA	Al-Bakri, pp. 22–3
mounts	given freely by M.s.q	land of M.s.q	NDA	Al-Bakri, pp. 22–3
weapons	given freely by M.s.q	land of M.s.q	NDA	Al-Bakri, pp. 22–3

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
women	given in marriage according M.s.q ruler's will	land of M.s.q	Marriage gift	Al-Bakri, pp. 22–3
men	given in marriage according M.s.q ruler's will	land of M.s.q	NDA	Al-Bakri, pp. 22–3
slave women	“exchange for dinars and dirhams”	sold nearby trading platform	“many dinars and dirhams”	Ibn Fadlan, p. 70
sable	“exchange for dinars and dirhams”	sold nearby trading platform	“many dinars and dirhams”	Ibn Fadlan, p. 70
necklaces	made after gaining 10,000 dirhams	land of Ar-Rus	—	Ibn Fadlan, p. 109
green glass beads	exchange	land of Ar-Rus	1 dirham	Ibn Fadlan, p. 109
clothes	gift from the Arabs for the nomads	—	—	Ibn Fadlan, p. 96
decorative textiles	gift from the Arabs for the nomads	—	safe transit	Ibn Fadlan, p. 96
raisins	gift from the Arabs for the nomads	—	safe transit	Ibn Fadlan, p. 96
nuts	gift from the Arabs for the nomads	—	safe transit	Ibn Fadlan, p. 96

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
pepper	gift from the Arabs for the nomads	—	safe transit	Ibn Fadlan, p. 96
proso millet	gift from the Arabs for the nomads	—	safe transit	Ibn Fadlan, p. 96
“commodities from Rus’ and Slavs people”	obtained by the Arabs	NDA	dirhams	Ibn Fadlan, p. 178
dinars	gift from the Arabs for Atrak	NDA	—	Ibn Fadlan, p. 178
musk	gift from the Arabs for Atrak	NDA	—	Ibn Fadlan, p. 178
tanned leather	gift from the Arabs for Atrak	NDA	—	Ibn Fadlan, p. 178
marwija textile	gift from the Arabs for Atrak	NDA	—	Ibn Fadlan, p. 178
shoes	gift from the Arabs for Atrak	NDA	—	Ibn Fadlan, p. 178
brocade robes	gift from the Arabs for Atrak	NDA	—	Ibn Fadlan, p. 178
silk robes	gift from the Arabs for Atrak	NDA	—	Ibn Fadlan, p. 178.
bread	gift from the Arabs for the nomads	Bulgharin	—	Ibn Fadlan, p. 178
meat	gift from the Arabs for the nomads	Bulgharin	—	Ibn Fadlan, p. 178
millet	gift from the Arabs for the nomads	Bulgharin	—	Ibn Fadlan, p. 178.

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
dirhems, dinars	welcome gift from Almis for Arab legats; gift for Almis	Bulgharin	—	Ibn Fadlan, pp. 96–9
perfume	gift from the Arabs for Almis	Bulgharin	—	Ibn Fadlan, pp. 96–9
expensive robes	gift from the Arabs for Almis	Bulgharin	—	Ibn Fadlan, pp. 96–9
pearls	gift from the Arabs for Almis	Bulgharin	—	Ibn Fadlan, pp. 96–9
kaftan (Gurgan)	given as a gift for the nomads	lands of the Turks	safe transit; kaftan wart 10 dirhams	Ibn Fadlan, pp. 96–9
Decorated shoes	given as a gift for the nomads	lands of the Turks	safe transit	Ibn Fadlan, pp. 96–9
100 nuts	przekazanych w formie daru koczownikom	lands of the Turks	safe transit	Ibn Fadlan, pp. 96–9
bread	given as a gift for the nomads	lands of the Turks	safe transit	Ibn Fadlan, pp. 96–9
Sheepskin coat	given as a gift for the nomads	lands of the Turks	safe transit	Ibn Fadlan, pp. 96–9
Slav slaves	object of exchange, brought to califat z ziemi Ar-Rus	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5
sable	object of exchange, brought to califat from Ar-Rus lands	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
fish (walrus) tusks	object of exchange, brought to califat from Ar-Rus lands	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5
amber	object of exchange, brought to califat from Ar-Rus lands	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5
squirrel furs	object of exchange, brought to califat from Ar-Rus lands	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5
stoat furs	object of exchange, brought to califat from Ar-Rus lands	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5
marten furs	object of exchange, brought to califat from Ar-Rus lands	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5
weasel furs	object of exchange, brought to califat from Ar-Rus lands	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5
beaver furs	object of exchange, brought to califat from Ar-Rus lands	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
kimucht (a kind of horse or donkey skin from animal's back, used for shoe production)	object of exchange, brought to califat from Ar-Rus lands	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5
honey	object of exchange, brought to califat from Ar-Rus lands	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5
hazelnuts	object of exchange, brought to califat from Ar-Rus lands	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5
falcons	object of exchange, brought to califat via Khwarazm from Ar-Rus lands	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5
swords and arrows	object of exchange brought to califat via Khwarazm from Ar-Rus lands	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5
armors [chain mail]	object of exchange brought to califat via Khwarazm from Ar-Rus lands	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
rams/sheep	object of exchange brought to califat via Khwarazm from Ar-Rus lands and Bulghar	land of Ar-Rus/ Bulghar/ Khwarazm	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5
oxen	object of exchange brought to califat via Khwarazm from Ar-Rus lands and Bulghar	land of Ar-Rus/ Bulghar/ Khwarazm	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5
beaver glands	object of exchange, brought to califat from Ar-Rus lands	land of Ar-Rus	NDA (dirhams?)	Al-Maqdisi, pp. 34–5
furs	sold to the Arabs via Ar-Rus, “flooding markets around the world”	NDA (sold in Baghdad?)	coins	Ibn Rustah, p. 28
furs	sold in Al-Andalus via As-Saqaliba	Al-Andalus	NDA (dirhams?)	Ibn Rustah, p. 29
Slav slaves	caught and sold by Magyars	city of KRH	exchanged for woolen blankets and other commodities brought from “balid Ar-Rum”	Ibn Rustah, pp. 29–41

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
“countless quantities of goods”	commodities from India, China, Khazaria, Tibet, Abyssinia, and countries of “Turks”	Baghdad	sold in Baghdad	Al-Ya’qubi, p. 72
beaver furs	exchanged/sold in Baghdad by Rus’ people	Baghdad	exchanged/sold in Baghdad	Ibn Hurdadbeh Ibn Al-Faqih and Al-Hamadani
swords	exchanged/sold in Baghdad by Rus’ people	Baghdad	exchanged/sold in Baghdad	Ibn Hurdadbeh Ibn Al-Faqih and Al-Hamadani
black fox furs	exchanged/sold in Baghdad by Rus’ people	Baghdad	exchanged/sold in Baghdad	Ibn Hurdadbeh Ibn Al-Faqih and Al-Hamadani
red fox furs	exchanged/sold in Baghdad by Rus’ people	Baghdad	exchanged/sold in Baghdad	Al-Masudi, p. 412
Saqlab castrates	brought to Baghdad	Baghdad	exchanged/sold in Baghdad	Ibn Hurdadbeh, pp. 76–7
slave Andalusian women	exchanged/sold in Baghdad by Rus’ people	Baghdad	exchanged/sold in Baghdad	Ibn Hurdadbeh, pp. 76–7
slave Byzantine women	exchanged/sold in Baghdad	Baghdad	exchanged/sold in Baghdad	Ibn Hurdadbeh, pp. 76–7
perfume	exchanged/sold in Baghdad	Baghdad	exchanged/sold in Baghdad	Ibn Hurdadbeh, pp. 76–7

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
mastic	exchanged/sold in Baghdad	Baghdad	exchanged/sold in Baghdad	Ibn Hurdadbeh, pp. 76–7
amber	exchanged/sold in Baghdad	Baghdad	exchanged/sold in Baghdad	Ibn Hurdadbeh, pp. 76–7
clothes padded with sable fur	made in Khwarazm	Khwarazm	NDA	Al-Ya'qubi, pp. 76–7
clothes padded with marten fur	made in Khwarazm	Khwarazm	NDA	Al-Ya'qubi, pp. 76–7
clothes padded with ermine fur	made in Khwarazm	Khwarazm	NDA	Al-Ya'qubi, pp. 76–7
clothes padded with lynx fur	made in Khwarazm	Khwarazm	NDA	Al-Ya'qubi, pp. 76–7
clothes padded with squirrel fur	made in Khwarazm	Khwarazm	NDA	Al-Ya'qubi, pp. 76–7
Slav slaves	brought to califat	califat/ Baghdad?	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Ibn Al-Faqih, pp. 152–53
Rumia boys	brought to califat	califat/ Baghdad?	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Ibn Al-Faqih, pp. 152–53
slave Spain women	brought to califat	califat/ Baghdad?	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Ibn Al-Faqih, pp. 152–53
beaver furs	brought to califat	califat/ Baghdad?	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Ibn Al-Faqih, pp. 152–53
al-wabr (other furs, rabbit furs; or maybe <i>wobr</i> —a desert animal, canines)	brought to califat	califat/ Baghdad?	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Ibn Al-Faqih, pp. 152–53

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
Resin (styraks)	brought to califat	califat/ Baghdad?	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Ibn Al-Faqih, p. 28
mastic	brought to califat	califat/ Baghdad?	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Ibn Al-Faqih, p. 28
bussad (coral)	brought to califat	califat/ Baghdad?	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Ibn Al-Faqih, p. 28
Fox furs	brought to califat	califat/ Baghdad?	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Ibn Al-Faqih, p. 28
Spain slaves	brought to califat	califat/ Baghdad?	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Ibn Al-Faqih, p. 28
armed horsemen	gift from Aparvez (Persian ruler Khosrow II) for Byzantine ruler	gift sent from Persia to Byzantium	gift handed in exchange for military support	Kitab Al-Mahasin wa'l-Addad NDA, pp. 123–37
dinars	gift from Aparvez (Persian ruler Khosrow II) for Byzantine ruler	gift sent from Persia to Byzantium	gift handed in exchange for military support	Kitab Al-Mahasin wa'l-Addad NDA, pp. 123–37
woven robes	gift from Aparvez (Persian ruler Khosrow II) for Byzantine ruler	gift sent from Persia to Byzantium	gift handed in exchange for military support	Kitab Al-Mahasin wa'l-Addad NDA, pp. 123–37
20 “daughters of Slav kings” in silk robes, having gold earrings incusted with pears and rubies	gift from Aparvez (Persian ruler Khosrow II) for Byzantine ruler	gift sent from Persia to Byzantium	gift handed in exchange for military support	Kitab Al-Mahasin wa'l-Addad NDA, pp. 123–37
grapes from As-Saqlabi	one grape variety cultivated in Iraq	cultivated in Baghdad	NDA	Ibn Al-Faqih, p. 28

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
“Byzantine images”	made by Byzantine artisans	available in Baghdad	NDA	Ibn Al-Faqih, p. 28
silk brocade	from Ar-Rum land	available in Baghdad	NDA	Ibn Al-Faqih, p. 28
excellent fabrics	from Ifranga land	available in Baghdad	NDA	Ibn Al-Faqih, p. 28
cinnamon	China	available in Baghdad	NDA	Ibn Al-Faqih, p. 28
tetterwort	China	available in Baghdad	NDA	Ibn Al-Faqih, p. 28
musk	NDA	available in Baghdad	NDA	Ibn Al-Faqih, p. 28
aloe tree	Indochina	available in Baghdad	NDA	Ibn Al-Faqih, p. 28
Spain slaves from country of Franks	brought from Al-Andalus	Baghdad	NDA	Ibn Al-Faqih, p. 28
swords	brought do Baghdad via Ar-Rus	available in Baghdad	NDA	Al-Biruni
camels	wealth of Burdas land	Burdas land	NDA	Ibn Rustah, pp. 38–43
cattle	wealth of Burdas land	Burdas land	NDA	Ibn Rustah, pp. 38–43
marten furs	wealth of Burdas land	Burdas land	NDA	Ibn Rustah, pp. 38–43
cereal (wheat, barley, proso)	wealth of Bulghar	Bulghar	NDA	Ibn Rustah, pp. 38–43

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
Frank castrates	brought to califat	Baghdad	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Ibn Hurdadbeh, p. 75
Rumia castrates	brought to califat	Baghdad	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Ibn Hurdadbeh, p. 75
young boys	brought to califat	Baghdad	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Ibn Hurdadbeh, p. 75
Longobard castrates	brought to califat	Baghdad	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Ibn Hurdadbeh, p. 75
al-maja (resin)	brought to Baghdad	dostępna in Baghdad	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Ibn Hurdadbeh, p. 75
Saqlab castrates	brought to califat	Iraq / Basra?	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Al-Jahiz, pp. 167–9
Slav women	brought to califat	Iraq / Basra?	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Al-Jahiz, pp. 167–9
Slav boys	brought to califat	Iraq / Basra?	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Al-Jahiz, pp. 167–9
copper	brought to califat	Iraq / Basra?	NDA (dinars/ dirhams?)	Al-Jahiz, pp. 167–9
slaves	sold in Rus'	Rus'—bilad As-Saqaliba	bought for commodity money—furs (sewn in 18 and with a ruler sign)	Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati
slave women	sold in Rus'	Rus'—bilad As-Saqaliba	bought for commodity money—furs (sewn in 18 and with a ruler sign)	Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
bread	sold in Rus'	Rus'—bilad As-Saqaliba	1 "fur" (18 pieces) or 1 dirham	Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati
gold	sold in Rus'	Rus'—bilad As-Saqaliba	bought for commodity money—furs (sewn in 18 and with a ruler sign)	Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati
silver	sold in Rus'	Rus'—bilad As-Saqaliba	bought for commodity money—furs (sewn in 18 and with a ruler sign)	Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati
beaver furs	sold in Rus'	Rus'—bilad As-Saqaliba	bought for commodity money—furs (sewn in 18 and with a ruler sign)	Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati
"beautiful woman slave who can cook, sew, and count", bought at age of 15	bought in Hungary from her parents' owner	Hungary	10 dinars	Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati, pp. 80–1
"perfect woman slave"	bought in Hungary during war expeditions	Hungary	3 dinars	Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati, pp. 80–1

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
Rumia man	bought in Hungary during war expeditions	Hungary	3 dinars	Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati, pp. 80–1
Rumia slave bought at age of 10	bought in Hungary	Hungary	5 dinars	Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati, pp. 80–1
20 small cattle	value to be bound in Hungary	Hungary	1 dinar	Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati, pp. 80–1
30 sheep	value to be bound in Hungary	Hungary	1 dinar	Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati, pp. 80–1
30 goats	value to be bound in Hungary	Hungary	1 dinar	Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati, pp. 80–1
2 jugs of raw honey (with wax)	value to be bound in Hungary	Hungary	1 dinar	Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati, pp. 80–1
honey—weight given as 500 ratls (180 kg)	value to be bound in Hungary	Hungary	1 dinar	Abu Hamid Al-Andalusi Al-Garnati, pp. 80–1
2000 slaves	sold in califat	Baghdad	600 000 dirhams, price of one slave 300 dirhams	Ibn Hurdadbeh, p. 75

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
slaves	sold in Prague	Prague	NDA	Yehuda Ha Kohen ben Meir, pp. 36–9
“commodities from Hagar land” for commodities from Mainz	exchanged by Magyars	Hungary	bought for 1 liter of gold (in Talmud: unit worth 60 shekels—350 g of gold)	Yehuda HaKohen ben Meir, pp. 36–9
slave from Primis city—Przemysł?	NDA	Prague	NDA	Yehuda Ha Kohen ben Meir, pp. 36–9
metals	sold by Jewish merchants	Mainz	NDA	Petrus Candianus II, pp. 113–14
textiles	sold by Jewish merchants	Mainz	NDA	Petrus Candianus II, pp. 113–14
spice from the East	sold by Jewish merchants	Mainz		Petrus Candianus II, pp. 113–14
wood	transported by merchants	NDA / Prague		Customs tariff in Raffelstätten, pp. 250–53
salt	NDA	NDA / Prague		Customs tariff in Raffelstätten pp. 250–53
slaves	customs duty for a man: 1 denarius, for a woman: 1/3 denarius	NDA / Prague		Customs tariff in Raffelstätten pp. 250–53

TABLE 4.1 Goods and natural resources in Central and Eastern Europe (*cont.*)

Subject of exchange / natural resources	Nature of the exchange/ production/ goods fees listed in the relation	Place of exchange	Equivalent	Source
horses	customs duty for a mount: 1/3 denarius; for a mare: 1 denarius	NDA / Prague		Customs tariff in Raffelstätten pp. 25 ^o –53

a Table prepared after source editions mentioned in the bibliography.

A Source Study: High Medieval Market Institutions—*“ut nullus teloneum exigat nisi in mercatibus ubi communia commertia emuntur ac venundantur”*

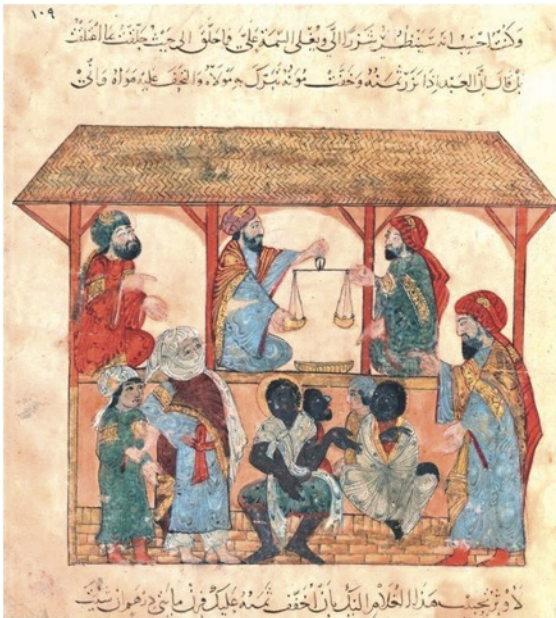


FIGURE A.1
Slave market, Manuscript
arabe 5847, fol. 105, Maqâma
34, 13th century

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Conrad I: theloem	12.03.913 Strasbourg	DD K I, no. 17, p. 16
Otto I:		

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
teloneum	— 936 Bruges	DD O I, no. 6, p. 95
theloneum	14.01.947 Frankfurt	DD O I, no. 84, p. 165
teloneum	27.09.937 Magdeburg	DD O I, no. 15, p. 103
teloneum	30.05.941 Ingelheim	DD O I, no. 39, p. 125
teloneum	15.01.947 Frankfurt	DD O I, no. 85, p. 167
teloneum	02.05.948 Aachen	DD O I, no. 102, p. 185
teloneum	11.02.952 Pavia	DD O I, no. 144, p. 225
teloneum	13.02.953 Erstein	DD O I, no. 162, p. 244
teloneum	— 960 —	DD O I, no. 209, p. 288
teloneum	20.04.962 Pavia	DD O I, no. 244, p. 345
teloneum	25.08.962 Como	DD O I, no. 246, p. 354
teloneum	19.05.963 St. Leo	DD O I, no. 254, p. 363
teloneum	27.06.963 St. Leo	DD O I, no. 256, p. 366
teloneum	06.06.964 Aquapendente	DD O I, no. 265, p. 378
teloneum	09.06.965 Magdeburg	DD O I, no. 299, p. 415
teloneum	12.12.965 Brugia	DD O I, no. 312, p. 426
teloneum	18.04.969 Cassano	DD O I, no. 371, p. 508
pontaticum	02.05.948 Aachen	DD O I, no. 102, p. 185

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
pontaticum	13.02.953 Erstein	DD O I, no. 162, p. 244
curatura	11.02.952 Pavia	DD O I, no. 144, p. 225
curatura	25.08.962 Como	DD O I, no. 246, p. 354
curatura	22.03.970 Ferrara	DD O I, no. 390, p. 531
Otto II:		
teloneum	— 962 Nordhausen	DD O II, no. 5, p. 14
teloneum	23.06.973 Aachen	DD O II, no. 49, p. 59
teloneum	26.06.973 Aachen	DD O II, no. 52, p. 62
teloneum	11.06.975 Memleben	DD O II, no. 110, p. 124
teloneum	11.11.975 Memleben	DD O II, no. 120, p. 135
teloneum	03.01.976 Erstein	DD O II, no. 124, p. 140
teloneum per omnes aquas	— Regensburg	DD O II, no. 137, p. 155
teloneum	22.11.976 Nimwegen	DD O II, no. 144, p. 162
bannum, teloneum	01.03.977 Tiel	DD O II, no. 146, p. 164
portaticum, teloneum	18.04.978 Allstedt	DD O II, no. 176 p. 201
teloneum	05.11.979 Allstedt	DD O II, no. 206, p. 235
teloneum	22.09.980 Wallhausen	DD O II, no. 228, p. 256
teloneum terraticum, teloneum strataticum	14.10.980 Brussels	DD O II, no. 231, p. 259

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
teloneum ex ullis negotiis	— —	DD O II, no. 233, p. 262
teloneum	05.12.980 Pavia	DD O II, no. 237, p. 266
teloneum	— —	DD O II, no. 256, p. 298
teloneum	— —	DD O II, no. 283, p. 330
teloneum	07.05.983 Verona	DD O II, no. 291, p. 344
teloneum	15.06.983 Verona	DD O II, no. 308, p. 365
bannum	04.06.973	DD O II, no. 29, p. 38
bannum	25.06.973 Aachen	DD O II, no. 50, p. 60
bannum, fredus, theloneum a navibus	27.06.973 Worms	DD O II, no. 42, p. 52
bannum	25.06.973 Aachen	DD O II, no. 50, p. 60
bannum	23.11.973 Heiligenstadt	DD O II, no. 66, p. 78
bannum	28.06.974 Magdeburg	DD O II, no. 86, p. 102
bannum	30.08.974 Frose	DD O II, no. 89, p. 104
bannum	— —	DD O II, no. 94, p. 109
bannum	— 03.977 —	DD O II, no. 147, p. 165
bannum	27.04.979 Duisburg	DD O II, no. 189, p. 216
bannum	— 979 Magdeburg	DD O II, no. 198, p. 225
bannum regium	06.01.980 Grone	DD O II, no. 210, p. 239

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
bannum	12.03.980 Dorburg	DD O II, no. 214, p. 242
bannum	25.06.980 Nimwegen	DD O II, no. 221, p. 251
bannum	12.09.980 Wallhausen	DD O II, no. 228, p. 256
bannum	11.09.980 Tribur	DD O II, no. 230, p. 258
bannum	30.03.981 Rome	DD O II, no. 245, p. 277
pontaticum	10.04.974 Quedlinburg	DD O II, no. 73, p. 90
curatura	18.04.978 Allstedt	DD O II, no. 176, p. 201
Otto III:		
teloneum	27.09.984 Ingelheim	DD O III, no. 4, p. 398
teloneum	06.02.985 Mühlhausen	DD O III, no. 9, p. 405
teloneum	20.05.987 Allstedt	DD O III, no. 34, p. 434
teloneum	28.12.988 Cologne	DD O III, no. 51, p. 454
teloneum	04.07.989 Kirchberg	DD O III, no. 55, p. 460
teloneum	04.08.990 Gandersheim	DD O III, no. 66, p. 473
teloneum	28.05.991 Nimwegen	DD O III, no. 72, p. 480
teloneum	05.02.995 Essen	DD O III, no. 114, p. 526
teloneum	29.07.993 Darniburg	DD O III, no. 135, p. 546
teloneum	02.01.994 Allstedt	DD O III, no. 142, p. 553

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
curatura vel teloneum sive portaticum	27.05.996 Rome	DD O III, no. 204, p. 615
teloneum	31.09.996 Brussels	DD O III, no. 231, p. 646
teloneum	25 marca 997 Aachen	DD O III, no. 237, p. 655
teloneum	17.07. 997 Eschwege	DD O III, no. 250, p. 667
teloneum	01.09.997 Aachen	DD O III, no. 255, p. 671
teloneum ex ullis negotiis	01.05. 998 Rome	DD O III, no. 289, p. 714
bannum, teloneum	03.05. 999 Rome	DD O III, no. 306, p. 733
fodrum aut teloneum	10.05. 999 Rome	DD O III, no. 308, p. 735
teloneum	07.05.999 Rome	DD O III, no. 323, p. 750
teloneum	07.05.999 Rome	DD O III, no. 324, p. 752
teloneum	23.03.1000 Magdeburg	DD O III, no. 350, p. 780
teloneum de ponte	— 1000 Borgo San Donnino	DD O III, no. 381, p. 808
bannum	06.02.985 Mühlhausen	DD O III, no. 9, p. 405
bannum	19.05.992 Neuwille	DD O III, no. 93, p. 504
bannum	— —	DD O III, no. 124, p. 536
bannum	29.03.999	DD O III, no. 311, p. 737
bannum	07.07.985 Ingelheim	DD O III, no. 16, p. 414
bannum	30.11.985 Soest	DD O III, no. 23, p. 422

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
bannum	20.05.987 Allstedt	DD O III, no. 34, p. 434
bannum	16.03.988 Wildeshausen	DD O III, no. 40, p. 439
bannum	01.05.988 Frankfurt	DD O III, no. 43, p. 443
bannum	04.06.989 Kierchberg	DD O III, no. 55, p. 460
bannum	30.06.989 Ingelheim	DD O III, no. 57, p. 462
bannum	01.09.989 Frankfurt	DD O III, no. 58, 464
bannum	21.04.990 Mainz	DD O III, no. 61, p. 467
bannum et fredum	16.06.990 Frankfurt	DD O III, no. 62, p. 469
bannum	04.08.990 Gandersheim	DD O III, no. 66, p. 473
bannum	— 992 Brogne	DD O III, no. 92, p. 503
bannum	19.05.992 Neuwille	DD O III, no. 93, p. 504
bannum	19.07.992 Mühlhausen	DD O III, no. 100, p. 512
bannum	29.07.993 Dorniburg	DD O III, no. 135, p. 546
bannum	23.11.996 —	DD O III, no. 227, p. 642
bannum	06.11.996 —	DD O III, no. 233, p. 648
bannum	20.04.997 Dortmund	DD O III, no. 243, p. 661
bannum	19.01.998 Cremona	DD O III, no. 270, p. 689
bannum	— —	DD O III, no. 280, p. 705

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
bannum publicum	03.01.999 Rome	DD O III, no. 306, p. 733
bannum	11.04.999 Rome	DD O III, no. 312, p. 739
bannum	14.04.999 Rome	DD O III, no. 318, p. 745
bannum	20.05.999 —	DD O III, no. 325, p. 754
bannum	03.12.999 Rome	DD O III, no. 339, p. 769
bannum	— —	DD O III, no. 342, p. 773
bannum	23.03.1000 Magdeburg	DD O III, no. 350, p. 780
bannum	30.04.1000 Aachen	DD O III, no. 357, p. 786.
bannum	01.05.1000 Aachen	DD O III, no. 358, p. 787
bannum	— Aachen	DD O III, no. 364, p. 794
bannum	30.05.1000 Trebur	DD O III, no. 367, p. 796
bannum	11.06.1000 Hohentwiel	DD O III, no. 372, p. 799
bannum	21.04.1001 Ravenna	DD O III, no. 399, p. 832
bannum	22.11.1001 Ravenna	DD O III, no. 416, p. 851
bannum de omni terra	01.12.1001 Ravenna	DD O III, no. 419, p. 853
pontaticum	20.08.985 Nimwegen	DD O III, no. 18, p. 416
curatura	03.08.996 Pavia	DD O III, no. 222, p. 635
Henry II:		

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
teloneum	03.09.1002 Esloo	DD H II, no. 15, p. 18
teloneum	31.05.1004 Rhò	DD H II, no. 71, p. 89
teloneum	16.03.1006 Frose	DD H II, no. 109, p. 134
teloneum	28.07.1002 Merseburg	DD H II, no. 8, p. 10
teloneum	04.06.1007 Mainz	DD H II, no. 140, p. 167
teloneum	08.06.1007 Aachen	DD H II, no. 141, p. 168
teloneum	— 1014 Pavia	DD H II, no. 306, p. 384
teloneum	13.07.1019 or 1020 Regensburg	DD H II, no. 400, p. 515
teloneum	27.07.1023 Aachen	DD H II, no. 491, p. 626
bannum	10.06.1002 Worms	DD H II, no. 1, p. 1
bannum	03.09.1002 Esloo	DD H II, no. 15, p. 18
bannum	10 or 13. 03.1003 Minden	DD H II, no. 42, p. 50
bannum	25.05.1003 Gieboldhausen	DD H II, no. 50, p. 60
bannum	11.06.1003 Bamberg	DD H II, no. 52, p. 62
bannum	30.06.1003 Regensburg	DD H II, no. 54, p. 65
bannum	04.03. 1004 ? Walhausen	DD H II, no. 64, p. 80
bannum et fredum	09.04.1005 Aachen	DD H II, no. 94, p. 119
bannum	25.01.1006 Merseburg	DD H II, no. 106, p. 131

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
bannum	02.03.1006 Merseburg	DD H II, no. 107, p. 132
bannum	16.03.1006 Frose	DD H II, no. 109, p. 134
bannum et teloneum	07.04.1006 Mühlhausen	DD H II, no. 111, p. 137
bannum	08.07.1007 Aachen	DD H II, no. 141, p. 168
bannum	12.09.1008 Trier	DD H II, no. 186, p. 221
bannum	— 1008 Trier	DD H II, no. 188, p. 223
bannum	12.03.1009 Dortmund	DD H II, no. 189, p. 224
bannum	09.06.1009 Merseburg	DD H II, no. 199, p. 233
bannum	03.09.1009 Ingelheim	DD H II, no. 206, p. 242
bannum	19.04.1010 Regensburg	DD H II, no. 214, p. 251
bannum	19.06.1011 Ramspau	DD H II, no. 235, p. 273
bannum	12.05.1012 Bamberg	DD H II, no. 244, p. 282
bannum	07.05.1014 Pavia	DD H II, no. 299, p. 371
bannum	29.12.1014 Pöhlde	DD H II, no. 326, p. 412
bannum	30.12.1014 Pöhlde	DD H II, no. 327, p. 414
bannum	17.05.1016 Mörfelden	DD H II, no. 350, p. 448
bannum	29.08.1016 Dammerkirch	DD H II, no. 354, p. 454
bannum	09.05.1017 Frankfurt	DD H II, no. 367, p. 469

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
bannum	— 02.1022 Chieti	DD H II, no. 465, p. 592
bannum	— 1023 Iovis	DD H II, no. 492, p. 627
bannum	02.09.1023 Brumath	DD H II, no. 494, p. 633
bannum	15.04.1012 Lüttich	DD H II, no. 517, p. 666
curatura	09.10.1004 Magdeburg	DD H II, no. 84, p. 106
Konrad II:		
teloneum et bannum	18.01.1025 Hildesheim	DD K II, no. 16, p. 19
teloneum, curatura	18.03.1030 Basel	DD K II, no. 146, p. 197
teloneum	— —	DD K II, no. 147, p. 199
teloneum, curatura	27.02.1031 Goslar	DD K II, no. 162, p. 214
teloneum de ponte	11.08.1038 Breisgau	DD K II, no. 277, p. 383
teloneum	16.03.1038 Cologne	DD K II, no. 292, p. 415
bannum	14.11.1024 Nivhsse	DD K II, no. 8, p. 9
bannum	18.01.1025 Hildesheim	DD K II, no. 16, p. 19
bannum	14.06.1026 Cremona	DD K II, no. 64, p. 78
bannum	19.10.1027 Trebur	DD K II, no. 110, p. 153
bannum	17.01.1030 Dortmund	DD K II, no. 144, p. 195
bannum	07.04.1030 Ingelheim	DD K II, no. 149, p. 201

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
bannum	20.04.1031 Nimwegen	DD K II, no. 165, p. 218
bannum	16.09.1031 Belgern	DD K II, no. 173, p. 231
bannum	20.06.1033 Nordhausen	DD K II, no. 190, p. 253
bannum	22.02.1038 Uiauinari	DD K II, no. 259, p. 358
bannum	23.06.1038 Viadana	DD K II, no. 273, p. 378
bannum	11.12.1038 Nierstein	DD K II, no. 278, p. 385
portaticum, pontaticum	— —	DD K II, no. 266, p. 370
curatura omnium negotiorum	27.02.1031 Goslar	DD K II, no. 162, p. 214
curatura, teloneum, portaticum	18.03.1030 Basel	DD K II, no. 146, p. 197
Henry III:		
teloneum, bannum	22.06.1039 Andernach	DD H III, no. 1, p. 2
teloneum	03.05.1040 Cologne	DD H III, no. 41, p. 51
teloneum	16.06.1040 Metz	DD H III, no. 53, p. 69
teloneum	26.01.1041 Aachen	DD H III, no. 70, p. 92
teloneum	19.03.1051 Spira	DD H III, no. 267, p. 356
teloneum	17.06.1051 Kaufungen	DD H III, no. 271, p. 361
teloneum	17.11.1054 Mainz	DD H III, no. 327, p. 448
teloneum	19.02.1054 Zurich	DD H III, no. 317, p. 434

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
bannum	22.06.1039 Andernach	DD H III, no. 2, p. 3
bannum	13.05.1040 —	DD H III, no. 42, p. 52
bannum	06 or 07. 08.1043 Reibersdorf	DD H III, no. 108, p. 137
bannum	28.08.1046 Winterbach	DD H III, no. 166, p. 208
bannum	Ad sanctum Marotum 1047 —	DD H III, no. 188, p. 237
bannum	20.07.1048 Minden	DD H III, no. 221, p. 294
bannum	03.12.1048 Winterbach	DD H III, no. 227, p. 302
bannum	20.11.1049 Mainz	DD H III, no. 243, p. 325
bannum	12.07.1050 Nattheim	DD H III, no. 252, p. 336
bannum	30.04.1051 Kaiserwerth	DD H III, no. 268, p. 357
bannum	18.07.1051 Kaufungen	DD H III, no. 273, p. 372
bannum	17.05.1053 Goslar	DD H III, no. 303, p. 412
bannum	05.05.1055 Roncaglia	DD H III, no. 339, p. 463
bannum	15.06.1055 Borgo San Genesio	DD H III, no. 348, p. 476
bannum	27.02.1056 Koblencja	DD H III, no. 368, p. 500
bannum	07.03.1056 Kaiserswerth	DD H III, no. 369, p. 502
bannum	31.05–30.06 1056 Trier	DD H III, no. 372, p. 509

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
bannum	15.09.1056 Bodfeld	DD H III, no. 378, p. 520
bannum	05.04.1041 Mainz	DD H III, no. 387, p. 533
bannum	15.03.1047 Strasbourg	DD H III, no. 393, p. 546
bannum	18.07.1051 Kaufungen	DD H III, no. 399, p. 557
curatura	17.06.1052 Zurich	DD H III, no. 292, p. 396
curatura, ripaticum	— —	DD H III, no. 319, p. 437
Henry IV:		
teloneum	22.08.1059 Goslar	DD H IV, 1, no. 57, p. 74
teloneum	25.06.1070 Aachen	DD H IV, 1, no. 234, p. 296
teloneum	18.01.1074 Worms	DD H IV, 1, no. 267, p. 343
teloneum, ripaticum	23.07.1079 Regensburg	DD H IV, 2, no. 312, p. 412
teloneum	— 1098 —	DD H IV, 2, no. 462, p. 624
bannum	05.12.1056 Cologne	DD H IV, 1, no. 1, p. 1
bannum	23.04.1057 Kaiserswerth	DD H IV, 1, no. 13, p. 17
bannum	04.1057 ? —	DD H IV, 1, no. 16, p. 21
bannum	27.07.1059 Pöhlde	DD H IV, 1, no. 56, p. 73
bannum	22.08.1059 Goslar	DD H IV, 1, no. 57, p. 74
bannum	13.04.1060 Goslar	DD H IV, 1, no. 63, p. 83

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
bannum	18.02.1061 Regensburg	DD H IV, 1, no. 70, p. 92
bannum	25.11.1061 Ladenburg	DD H IV, 1, no. 78, p. 101
bannum	09.03.1062 Goslar	DD H IV, 1, no. 83, p. 108
bannum	28.12.1063 Cologne	DD H IV, 1, no. 116, p. 155
bannum	30.04.1064 Kaiserswerth	DD H IV, 1, no. 128, p. 168
bannum	02.10.1064 Halle	DD H IV, 1, no. 136, p. 178
bannum	05.04.1065 Mainz	DD H IV, 1, no. 145, p. 188
bannum	— 1065 Trier	DD H IV, 1, no. 157, p. 204
bannum	— 1065 Trier	DD H IV, 1, no. 158, p. 205
bannum	— 1065 Trier	DD H IV, 1, no. 159, p. 208
bannum	— 1067 Pforzen	DD H IV, 1, no. 193, p. 250
bannum	23.09.1069 Frankfurt	DD H IV, 1, no. 220, p. 280
bannum	07.10.1069 Frankfurt	DD H IV, 1, no. 222, p. 282
bannum	29.12.1069 Fryzynga	DD H IV, 1, no. 229, p. 289
bannum	04.10.1071 Merseburg	DD H IV, 1, no. 244, p. 310
bannum	09.10.1075 Worms	DD H IV, 1, no. 280, p. 360
bannum	02–04.08.1082 Pisa	DD H IV, 2, no. 346, p. 458
bannum	05.04.1089 Metz	DD H IV, 2, no. 405, p. 536

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
bannum	17.02.1077 Piacenza	DD H IV, 2, no. 286, p. 374
bannum	— 1081 Pisa	DD H IV, 2, no. 336, p. 442
bannum	03.12.1081 Parma	DD H IV, 2, no. 340, p. 449
bannum	14.12.1081 Parma	DD H IV, 2, no. 341, p. 451
bannum	06.11.1082 Palosco	DD H IV, 2, no. 347, p. 459
bannum	15.11.1082 St. Zeno near Verona	DD H IV, 2, no. 348, p. 460
bannum	— 03.1084 Bei Rieti	DD H IV, 2, no. 355, p. 467
bannum	— 1084 —	DD H IV, 2, no. 358, p. 466
bannum	24.05.1084 Borgo San Valentino	DD H IV, 2, no. 361, p. 481
bannum	18.06.1084 St. Zeno near Verona	DD H IV, 2, no. 365, p. 487
bannum	09.08.1086 Mainz	DD H IV, 2, no. 393, p. 520
bannum	19.02.1090 Spira	DD H IV, 2, no. 411, p. 547
bannum	— —	DD H IV, 2, no. 412, p. 549
bannum	31.12.1090 Padua	DD H IV, 2, no. 415, p. 554
bannum	— Botticino	DD H IV, 2, no. 419, p. 561
bannum	— 1092 Pavia	DD H IV, 2, no. 429, p. 575
bannum	— 1095 Treviso	DD H IV, 2, no. 442, p. 597

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
bannum	— —	DD H IV, 2, no. 476, p. 649
curatura	15.06.1058 Augsburg	DD H IV, 2, no. 36b, p. 44
curatura, toloneum	31.10.1061 Scuchino	DD H IV, 1, no. 76, p. 99
curatura	23.06.1081 Rome	DD H IV, 2, no. 334, p. 438
curatura	— —	DD H IV, 2, no. 357, p. 472
Lothar III:		
theloneum	—Lüttich	DD Lo III, no. 34, p. 57
theloneum	28.09.1132 (Gardasee)	
theloneum	25.09.1136 Pozzolo (Mincio)	DD Lo III, no. 95, p. 149
theloneum, curatura	— 1136 Coreggio Verde	DD Lo III, no. 98, p. 156
theloneum	09.07.1137 Lago Pesole	DD Lo III, no. 117, p. 186
bannum	06.02.1130 Basel	DD Lo III, no. 23, p. 35
bannum	13.04.1131 Stablo	DD Lo III, no. 35, p. 59
bannum	01.01.1136 Spira	DD Lo III, no. 77, p. 120
bannum	15.05.1136 Merseburg	DD Lo III, no. 84, p. 132
bannum	17.08.1136 Würzburg	DD Lo III, no. 93, p. 145
bannum	17.12.1136 Bishopric Reggio d'Emilia	DD Lo III, no. 107, p. 173

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
bannum, pontaticum	22.09.1137 Aquino	DD Lo III, no. 119, p. 192
curatura	— —	DD Lo III, no. 47, p. 78
Konrad III and Henry VI Berengar:		
theloneum	08.04.1138 Cologne	DD K III, no. 2, p. 4
theloneum, bannum, pontaticum	11.04.1138 Cologne	DD K III, no. 5, p. 10
theloneum	01.08.1143 Kochem	DD K III, no. 93, p. 165
theloneum	16.10.1144 Hersfeld	DD K III, no. 115, p. 206
theloneum	— 09.1145 Kaiserswerth	DD K III, no. 136, p. 246
theloneum	21 or 23.05.1149 Salzburg	DD K III, no. 203, p. 368
bannum	17.10.1144 Hersfeld	DD K III, no. 117, p. 210
bannum	— 04.1141 Strasbourg	DD K III, no. 58, p. 103
bannum	04.1141 Metz -05.1142 Frankfurt	DD K III, no. 75, p. 133
bannum	04/05. 1143 Regensburg	DD K III, no. 87, p. 156
bannum	— 05.1144 Bamberg	DD K III, no. 105, p. 189
bannum	10.08.1145 Würzburg	DD K III, no. 132, p. 240
bannum	— 12.1145/01.1146 Aachen	DD K III, no. 146, p. 266
bannum	21.08.1149 Frankfurt	DD K III, no. 210, p. 378
bannum	After 11.06.1151 Regensburg	DD K III, no. 255, p. 443

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
pontaticum	01.08.1143 Kochem	DD K 111, no. 93, p. 167
Frederic I:		
teloneum	28.12.1152 Trier ?	DD F 1, 1, no. 41, p. 69
teloneum	14.06.1153 Worms	DD F 1, 1, no. 59, p. 102
teloneum	26.10.1154 Povegliano	DD F 1, 1, no. 87, p. 143
teloneum, portaticum	5-13.05.1155 Modena	DD F 1, 1, no. 103, p. 175
teloneum	15.04.1160 Lodi	DD F 1, 2, no. 314, p. 135
teloneum	19.04.1161 Pavia	DD F 1, 2, no. 324, p. 149
teloneum	09.02.1164 St. Arcangelo	DD F 1, 2, no. 427, p. 319
teloneum	02.08.1174 Trifels	DD F 1, 3, no. 626, p. 121
teloneum	22.06.1186 Varese	DD F 1, 4, no. 945, p. 246
teloneum	— 1188 —	DD F 1, 4, no. 973, p. 253
teloneum	20.11.1188 Gernoode	DD F 1, 4, no. 983, p. 269
bannum	09.03.1152 Aachen	DD F 1, 1, no. 1, p. 2
bannum	09-14. 03.1152 Aachen	DD F 1, 1, no. 4, p. 8
bannum	30.01.1153 Colmar	DD F 1, 1, no. 46, p. 77
bannum	— 02.1153 Besançon	DD F 1, 1, no. 49, p. 83
bannum	22.12.1154 Novara region, around the Galliate castle	DD F 1, 1, no. 94, p. 159

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
bannum	20.04.1155 Tortonas	DD F I, 1, no. 100, p. 170
bannum	15.05.1155 Bologna	DD F I, 1, no. 106, p. 179
bannum	17.08.1156 Colmar	DD F I, 1, no. 149, p. 252
bannum	06.04.1157 Worms	DD F I, 1, no. 166, p. 285
bannum	24.10.1157 Besançon	DD F I, 1, no. 183, p. 307
bannum	04.11.1157 Dole	DD F I, 1, no. 190, p. 319
bannum	22.04.1158 Kaiserswerth	DD F I, 1, no. 213, p. 355
bannum	17.04.1159 Castiglione dei Pepoli, diocese Bologna	DD F I, 2, no. 267, p. 75
bannum	Po 18.06.1160 —	DD F I, 2, no. 316, p. 139
bannum	02.04.1161 Monselice	DD F I, 2, no. 323, p. 148
bannum	— 06.1161 Lodi	DD F I, 2, no. 334, p. 164
bannum	18.06.1155–16.08.1161 —	DD F I, 2, no. 336, p. 170
bannum	04.02.1162 Lodi	DD F I, 2, no. 349, p. 187
bannum	06.11.1163 Lodi	DD F I, 2, no. 409, p. 291
bannum	07.04.1164 P. Salvatore near Pavia	DD F I, 2, no. 434, p. 329
bannum	08.08.1164 Pavia	DD F I, 2, no. 455, p. 358

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
bannum, pedagium, toloneum	24.11.1164 P. Salvatore near Pavia	DD F I, 2, no. 459, p. 365
bannum, theloneum, pedagium	28.09.1164 P. Salvatore near Pavia	DD F I, 2, no. 462, p. 369
bannum	— 11.1165 Utrecht	DD F I, 2, no. 497, p. 424
bannum	01.02.1167 Reggio	DD F I, 2, no. 524, p. 466
bannum	30.06.1174 Regensburg	DD F I, 3, no. 622, p. 115
bannum	22.04.1172 Würzburg	DD F I, 3, no. 590, p. 69
bannum, theloneum	09.05.1174 Sinzig	DD F I, 3, no. 618, p. 109
bannum	Autumn 1174	DD F I, 3, no. 631, p. 126
bannum	26.03.1175 During the siege of Robereto	DD F I, 3, no. 637, p. 134
bannum	po 06. 1176 —	DD F I, 3, no. 652, p. 157
bannum	17.08.1177 Venice	DD F I, 3, no. 695, p. 221
bannum	ca. 27.05.1179 Constance	DD F I, 3, no. 779, p. 337
bannum	Beginning of July 1179 —	DD F I, 3, no. 783, p. 343
bannum	28.04.1182 Mainz	DD F I, 4, no. 824, p. 29
bannum	Probably between mid-October and the beginning of November 1184 Verona	DD F I, 4, no. 880, p. 124

TABLE A.1 List of customs privileges in Post-Carolingian Europe (10th-12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
bannum	14.12.1184 Monselice	DD F I, 4, no. 889, p. 137
bannum	29.06.1185 San Miniato	DD F I, 4, no. 911, p. 172
bannum	08.12.1188 Saalfeld	DD F I, 4, no. 987, p. 273
bannum	01.05.1189 Donauwörth	DD F I, 4, no. 998, p. 289
bannum	17.09.1156 Regensburg	DD F I, 4, no. 1040, p. 347
bannum	22.02.1162 Lodi	DD F I, 4, no. 1048, p. 362
bannum	— 1163 Augsburg	DD F I, 4, no. 1056, p. 379
bannum	11.10.1178 (1177) Hagenau	DD F I, 4, no. 1072, p. 409
naulum	17.10.1152 Würzburg	DD F I, 1, no. 31, p. 53
naulum	05.08.1178 Montélimar	DD F I, 3, no. 747, p. 294

TABLE A.2 List of mint privileges in the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Otto I:		
Utrecht	— 936 Bruges	DD O I, no. 6, pp. 94–5
Combrai	30.05.941 Ingelheim	DD O I, no. 39, pp. 124–26
Magdeburg	28.03. 942 Magdeburg	DD O I, no. 46, pp. 130–31

TABLE A.2 List of mint privileges in the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Meppen	29.12.945 Dahlum	DD O I, no. 73, pp. 152–53
Meppen	30.05.946 Frohse	DD O I, no. 77, p. 157
Utrecht	01.04.948 Quedlinburg	DD O I, no. 98, p. 181
Kessel	07.10.950 Magdeburg	DD O I, no. 129, p. 210
Utrecht	21.04.953 Quedlinburg	DD O I, no. 164, pp. 245–46
Chur	16.01.958 Fritzlar	DD O I, no. 191, pp. 272–73
Magdeburg	09.07.965 Magdeburg	DD O I, no. 301, pp. 416–17
Bremen	10.08.965 Magdeburg	DD O I, no. 307, pp. 422–23
Odenhausen	09.04.973 Walbeck	DD O I, no. 430, pp. 583–84
Otto II:		
Gittelde	04.06.973 Magdeburg	DD O II, no. 29, pp. 38–9
Halberstadt	01.04.974 Quedlinburg	DD O II, no. 70, pp. 83–4
Strasbourg	10.04.974 Quedlinburg	DD O II, no. 72, pp. 88–9
Utrecht	06.06.975 Erfurt	DD O II, no. 108, p. 122
Combrai	01.03.977 Tiel	DD O II, no. 146, pp. 164–65
Otto III:		
Verden	30.11.987 Soest	DD O III, no. 23, pp. 421–22
Giebichenstein	20.05.987 Allstedt	DD O III, no. 34, pp. 433–34
Bremen	16.03.988 Wildeshausen	DD O III, no. 40, pp. 439–40

TABLE A.2 List of mint privileges in the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Maastricht	— —	DD O III, no. 45, pp. 445–46
Strasbourg	21.10.988 Constance	DD O III, no. 49, p. 451
Halberstadt	04.07.989 Kirchberg	DD O III, no. 55, pp. 460–61
Gandersheim	04.08.990 Gandersheim	DD O III, no. 66, pp. 473–74
Combrai	28.05.991 Nimwegen	DD O III, no. 72, pp. 479–80
Echternach	03.04.992 Aachen	DD O III, no. 89, p. 499
Hagenorode	29.07.993 Darniburg	DD O III, no. 135, pp. 545–46
Memleben	02.01.994 Allstedt	DD O III, no. 142, pp. 552–53
Freising	22.05.996 Rome	DD O III, no. 197, pp. 605–6
Salzburg	28.05.996 Rome	DD O III, no. 208, pp. 619–20
Helmarshausen	08.10.997 Aachen	DD O III, no. 256, pp. 673–74
Allensbach	— —	DD O III, no. 280, p. 705
Passau	03.01.999 Rome	DD O III, no. 306, pp. 733–34
Villingen	29.03.999	DD O III, no. 311, pp. 737–38
Altdorf	20.05.999 —	DD O III, no. 325, pp. 753–54
Hegenorode	23.03.1000 Magdeburg	DD O III, no. 350, pp. 779–80
Helmarshausen	30.04.1000 Aachen	DD O III, no. 357, p. 786
Wasserbillig	— Ingelheim	DD O III, no. 364, pp. 793–94

TABLE A.2 List of mint privileges in the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Creuznach	30.05.1000 Tribur	DD O III, no. 367, p. 796
Cambrai	21.04.1001 Ravenna	DD O III, no. 399, p. 832
Henry II:		
Cambrai	23.05.1003 Gandersheim	DD H II, no. 49, pp. 57–9
Bremen	25.05.1003 Gieboldehausen	DD H II, no. 50, pp. 59–60
Rincka	25.06.1004 Strasbourg	DD H II, no. 78, pp. 98–9
Verden	16.03.1006 Frose	DD H II, no. 109, pp. 134–35
Spira	17.03.1009 Duisburg	DD H II, no. 190, pp. 224–25
Bremen	20.11.1014 Allstedt	DD H II, no. 325, pp. 410–11
Mouzon	— 1015 Nimwegen	DD H II, no. 340, pp. 431–33
Gillenfeld	— 1016 Frankfurt	DD H II, no. 352, pp. 450–51
Coblenz	— 1018 Paderborn	DD H II, no. 397, pp. 509–10
Echternach	18.06.1018 Neuss	DD H II, no. 490, pp. 624–25
Osnabrück	27.07.1023 Aachen	DD H II, no. 491, pp. 625–26
Konrad II:		
Verden	18.01.1025 Hildesheim	DD K II, no. 16, pp. 18–19
Treviso	— 1026 Cremona	DD K II, no. 66, pp. 82–3
Aquileia	11.09.1028 Imbshausen	DD K II, no. 131, pp. 176–77

TABLE A.2 List of mint privileges in the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Chur	19.09.1030 Mögeldorf	DD K II, no. 153, p. 205
Hagenrode	17.10.1035 Magdeburg	DD K II, no. 223, pp. 303–4
Henry III:		
Verden	22.06.1039 Andernach	DD H III, no. 1, pp. 1–2
Lüttich	24.01.1040 Ulm	DD H III, no. 35, pp. 44–5
Utrecht	21.05.1040 Utrecht	DD H III, no. 45, pp. 55–8
Nivelles	05.06.1040 Stablo	DD H III, no. 52, pp. 66–8
Nivelles	03.06.1040 Aachen	DD H III, no. 80, pp. 104–5
Shaffhausen	10.07.1045 Cologne	DD H III, no. 138, pp. 173–74
Deventer	23.08.1046 Spira	DD H III, no. 164, pp. 206–7
Treviso	08.05.1047 Volargne	DD H III, no. 201 (a, b), pp. 258–61
Uhrsleben	19.03.1051 Spira	DD H III, no. 267, pp. 355–56
Wienhausen	15.10.1054 Goslar	DD H III, no. 326, pp. 446–47
Ascoli	27.05.1055 Florence	DD H III, no. 341, pp. 465–67
Henry IV:		
Prüm	05.12.1056 Cologne	DD H IV, 1, no. 1, pp. 1–3
Winsum, Garrelsweer	25.04.1057 Kaiserswerth	DD H IV, 1, no. 18, pp. 22–3
Bamberg	17.08.1057 Trebur	DD H IV, 1, no. 26, pp. 31–3

TABLE A.2 List of mint privileges in the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Verden	22.08.1059 Goslar	DD H IV, 1, no. 57, pp. 73–5
Kirchheim	22.11.1059 Neuburg	DD H IV, 1, no. 60, pp. 77–9
Bamberg	08.02.1060 Bamberg	DD H IV, 1, no. 62, pp. 81–2
Augsburg	07.03.1061 Norymberga	DD H IV, 1, no. 71, pp. 93–4
Fürth	19.07.1062 Mainz	DD H IV, 1, no. 89, pp. 115–17
Sulza	05.12.1064 Goslar	DD H IV, 1, no. 139, pp. 181–82
Lorsch	05.04.1065 Mainz	DD H IV, 1, no. 145, pp. 188–89
Sinzig	19.10.1065 Goslar	DD H IV, 1, no. 173, pp. 226–27
Treviso	19.11.1065 Corvey	DD H IV, 1, no. 174, pp. 227–28
Sinsheim	— —	DD H IV, 1, no. 186, pp. 242–43
Lorsch	— 1067 Morau	DD H IV, 1, no. 197, pp. 254–55
Siegburg	08.10.1069 Frankfurt	DD H IV, 1, no. 223, pp. 282–83
Treviso	11.04.1070 Goslar	DD H IV, 1, no. 231, pp. 290–92
Dinant	25.06.1070 Aachen	DD H IV, 1, no. 234, pp. 294–96
Theres	21.08.1097 Würzburg	DD H IV, 2, no. 456, pp. 615–16
Lothar III:		
Duisburg	10.04.1129(?) Goslar	DD Lo III, no. 19, pp. 23–7
Neunkirchen	14.05.1136 Merseburg	DD Lo III, no. 83, pp. 128–30

TABLE A.2 List of mint privileges in the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Ascoli	18.08.1137 Salerno	DD Lo 111, no. 118, pp. 188–90
Konrad III and Henry VI Berengar:		
Piacenza	maj/sierpień 1140 Molsheim	DD K 111, no. 48, pp. 81–2
Neunkirchen	June/July 1141 Regensburg	DD K 111, no. 62, pp. 109–10
Treviso	January/February 1142 Regensburg	DD K 111, no. 67, pp. 117–18
Cambrai	30.12.1145 Aachen	DD K 111, no. 143, pp. 257–60
Arles	— 1144 —	DD K 111, no. 290, pp. 501–3
Frederick I:		
Altdorf	30.01.1153 Colmar	DD F 1, 1, no. 46, pp. 76–7
Besançon	February 1153 Besançon	DD F 1, 1, no. 49, pp. 81–3
Basel	Before 17.01.1154 Spira	DD F 1, 1, no. 67, pp. 112–14
Goslar	27.05.1154 Goslar	DD F 1, 1, no. 79, pp. 131–32
Lucca	After 18.06.1155 —	DD F 1, 1, no. 112, pp. 190–92
Italy (own coin throughout the area)	25.08.1155 Faenza region	DD F 1, 1, no. 119, pp. 200–2
Besançon	04.11.1157 Dole	DD F 1, 1, no. 190, pp. 318–19
Bremen	22.04.1158 Kaiserswerth	DD F 1, 1, no. 213, pp. 355–57
Andernach	01.08.1167 Rome	DD F 1, 2, no. 532, pp. 476–77
Pegau	21.07.1172 Altenburg	DD F 1, 3, no. 594, pp. 73–5

TABLE A.2 List of mint privileges in the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Como	after 1162 or between 1174–1176 —	DD F I, 3, no. 651, pp. 155–56
Viviers	16.03.1177 Cuccurano	DD F I, 3, no. 668, pp. 177–78
Cambrai	20.06.1184 Gelnhausen	DD F I, 4, no. 862, p. 99.
Feltre	01.10.1184 Pavia	DD F I, 4, no. 868, pp. 105–7
Eschwege	June 1188 —	DD F I, 4, no. 973, pp. 253–54
Lübeck	19.09.1188 Leisnig	DD F I, 4, no. 981, pp. 263–67

TABLE A.3 List of market privileges for the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century)

The issuer of the document, market place	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Konrad I:		
Weilburg	24. 04. 914 Weilburg	DD K I, no. 19, p. 18
Eichstädt	09.09.918 Forchheim	DD K I, no. 36, pp. 33–4
Otto I:		
Meppen	30.05. 946 Frohse	DD O I, no. 77, p. 157
Gembloux	20.09.946 Lüttich	DD O I, no. 82, pp. 161–63
Rorschach	12.06. 947 Magdeburg	DD O I, no. 90, pp. 172–73

TABLE A.3 List of market privileges for the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, market place	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Kessel	07.10.950 Magdeburg	DD O I, no. 129, p. 210
Mediolan	15.02.952 Como	DD O I, no. 145, pp. 225–26
Wiedenbrück	07.06.952 Dornburg	DD O I, no. 150, p. 230
Macreta, Brescia, Noves	02.04.962 Pavia	DD O I, no. 240, pp. 334–36
Asti	25.09.962 Pavia	DD O I, no. 247, pp. 354–55
Lorsch	06.05.965 Erstein	DD O I, no. 283, p. 399
Magdeburg	09.06.965 Magdeburg	DD O I, no. 301, pp. 416–17
Brema	10.08.965 Merseburg	DD O I, no. 307, pp. 422–23
Verona	05.11.967 Balsemado	DD O I, no. 348, pp. 474–75
St. Sissino	— 968 Ravenna	DD O I, no. 364, pp. 500–1
Worms	10.04.970 Ravenna	DD O I, no. 392, pp. 533–35
Odenhausen	09.04.973 Walbeck	DD O I, no. 430, pp. 583–84
Otto II:		
Nordhausen	— 962 Nordhausen	DD O II, no. 5, pp. 13–4
Magdeburg	04.06.973 Magdeburg	DD O II, no. 29, pp. 38–9
Toul	— 973 —	DD O II, no. 62, pp. 71–3
Lüttich	— 974 Erfurt	DD O II, no. 85, pp. 100–1

TABLE A.3 List of market privileges for the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, market place	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Lüdinghausen	19.08.974 Erwitte	DD O II, no. 88, p. 103
S. Dié	15.03.975 Bonn	DD O II, no. 99, pp. 112–13
Lieding	11.06.975 Memleben	DD O II, no. 110, pp. 123–24
Lennick	27.06.978 Maastricht	DD O II, no. 179, p. 204
Gembloux	03.04.979 Loneam	DD O II, no. 187, pp. 212–14
Macreta, Brescia, Noves	18.01.981 Ravenna	DD O II, no. 243, pp. 273–75
Carrellia, Luni	18.06.981 Cerchio	DD O II, no. 253, pp. 287–88
Nonantola	— —	DD O II, no. 282, pp. 329–31
Épinal	20.06.983 Mantua	DD O II, no. 313, pp. 369–70
Otto III:		
Kaiserslautern	06.02.985 Mühlhausen	DD O III, no. 9, pp. 405–6
Kornelimünster	20.08.985 Nimwegen	DD O III, no. 18, pp. 416–17
Verden	30.11.985 Soest	DD O III, no. 23, pp. 421–22
Wiesloch	14.01.987 Ingelheim	DD O III, no. 31, pp. 430–31
Bremen	16.03.988 Wildeshausen	DD O III, no. 40, pp. 439–40
Halberstadt	04.06.989 Kirchberg	DD O III, no. 55, pp. 460–61
Gandersheim	04.08.990 Gandersheim	DD O III, no. 66, pp. 473–4

TABLE A.3 List of market privileges for the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, market place	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Halberstadt	18.09.992 Bothfeld	DD O III, no. 104, pp. 515–16
Hagenrode	29.07.993 Darniburg	DD O III, no. 135, pp. 545–46
Memleben	02.01.994 Allstedt	DD O III, no. 142, pp. 552–53
Vallator	11.11.994 Badenweiler	DD O III, no. 153, pp. 563–65
Quedlinburg	23.11.994 Bruksela	DD O III, no. 155, pp. 566–67
Stein	12.06.995 Frankfurt	DD O III, no. 166, pp. 578–79
Venice	01.05.996 Ravenna	DD O III, no. 192, pp. 600–1
Freising	22.05.996 Rome	DD O III, no. 197, pp. 605–6
Salzburg	28.05.996 Rome	DD O III, no. 208, pp. 619–20.
Arezzo	12.07.996 Arezzo	DD O III, no. 217, pp. 628–29
Helmarshausen	09.10.997 Aachen	DD O III, no. 256, pp. 673–74
Allensbach	— —	DD O III, no. 280, p. 705
Pistoia	27.04.998 Rome	DD O III, no. 284, pp. 709–10
Pasawa	03.01.999 Rome	DD O III, no. 306, pp. 733–34
Vercelli	07.05.999 Rome	DD O III, no. 323, pp. 748–51 DD O III, no. 324, pp. 751–53
Altdorf	20.05.999	DD O III, no. 325, pp. 753–54

TABLE A.3 List of market privileges for the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, market place	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Hagenrode	23.03.1000 Magdeburg	DD O III, no. 350, pp. 779–80
Wasserbillig	— Ingelheim	DD O III, no. 364, pp. 793–94
Weinheim	11.06.1000 Hohentwiel	DD O III, no. 372, p. 799
Borgo San Donnino	— 1000	DD O III, no. 381, p. 808
Henry II:		
Osnabrück	28.06.1002 Merseburg 27.06.1023 Aachen	DD H II, no. 8, pp. 9–11 DD H II, no. 491, pp. 625–26
Halberstadt	27.08.1002 Utrecht	DD H II, no. 13, pp. 15–6
Regensburg	12.11.1002 Regensburg	DD H II, no. 23, pp. 25–6
Bremen	25.05.1003 Gieboldehausen	DD H II, no. 50, pp. 59–60
Epinal	22.10.1003 St. Pilt	DD H II, no. 58, pp. 69–73
Merseburg	04.03.1004 Walhausen	DD H II, no. 64, pp. 78–80
Rincka (Breisgau)	25.06.1004 Strasbourg	DD H II, no. 78, pp. 98–9
Andlau	01.06.1004 Mainz	DD H II, no. 79, pp. 99–100
Soissons	05.05.1005 Utrecht	DD H II, no. 96, pp. 120–21
Verden	16.03.1006 Frose	DD H II, no. 109, pp. 134–35
Thorn	04.06.1007 Mainz	DD H II, no. 140, pp. 166–67

TABLE A.3 List of market privileges for the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, market place	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Oppenheim	04.11.1008	DD H II, no. 187, p. 222
Marbach	Trier 17.03.1009 Duisburg	DD H II, no. 190, pp. 224–25
Hengersberg	07.06.1009 Merseburg	DD H II, no. 198, pp. 232–33
Würzburg	22.10.1009 Strasbourg	DD H II, no. 207, p. 243
Macreta	12.05.1014 Pawia	DD H II, no. 300, pp. 372–74
Novara, Ossola, Gaudiano	— 1014 Pavia	DD H II, no. 306, pp. 382–84
Bremen	20.11.1014 Allstedt	DD H II, no. 325, pp. 410–11
Mouzon	— 1015 Nimwegen	DD H II, no. 340, pp. 431–35
Friesach	18.04.1016 Bamberg	DD H II, no. 347, pp. 441–43
Gillenfeld	— 1016 Frankfurt	DD H II, no. 352, pp. 450–51
Hornu	— 1018 Nimwegen	DD H II, no. 386, pp. 490–93
Kailbach	09.06.1018 Worms	DD H II, no. 393, pp. 505–6
Kaufungen	— 1019 Paderborn	DD H II, no. 412, pp. 527–28
Fulda	01.06.1019 Cologne	DD H II, no. 413, p. 528
Arezzo	— 1020 —	DD H II, no. 436, pp. 557–59
Konrad II:		
Verden	18.01.1025 Hildesheim	DD K II, no. 16, pp. 18–19

TABLE A.3 List of market privileges for the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, market place	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Macreta, Leno, Ponte Tremulo, Noceto, Medesiano, Aurelio	— 1026 Peschiera	DD K II, no. 57, pp. 66–8
Osnabrück	— 1028 Paderborn	DD K II, no. 123, pp. 168–69
Friesach	30.12.1028 Augsburg	DD K II, no. 134, pp. 180–81
Donauwörth	17.01.1030 Dortmund	DD K II, no. 144, p. 195
Vercelli	— —	DD K II, no. 147, pp. 198–200
Würzburg	13.10.1030 Bamberg	DD K II, no. 154, pp. 205–7
St. Vanne (Verdun)	23.04.1031 Nimwegen	DD K II, no. 166, pp. 219–21
Ascoli	— Paderborn	DD K II, no. 203, pp. 273–75
Bamberg	24.04.1034 Regensburg	DD K II, no. 207, p. 282
Hornu	03.05.1034 Regensburg	DD K II, no. 209, pp. 285–286
Bremen	16.10.1035 Magdeburg	DD K II, no. 222, pp. 302–3
Stassfurt	17.10.1035 Magdeburg	DD K II, no. 223, pp. 303–4
Macreta, Leno, Ponte Tremulo, Noceto, Medesiano, Aurelio	28.02.1036 Weissenburg (Nordgau)	DD K II, no. 227, pp. 308–9
Kölbigr	26.10.1036 Tileda	DD K II, no. 234, p. 319
Verona	14.07.1037 Verona (near St. Zeno)	DD K II, no. 247, p. 340–41

TABLE A.3 List of market privileges for the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, market place	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Noccati	18.02.1038 —	DD K II, no. 257, pp. 354–55
Benevento	26.05.1038 Benevento	DD K II, no. 267, pp. 367–69
Florence	23.07.1038 Viadana	DD K II, no. 273, pp. 378–79
Treviso	11.08.1038 Brixen	DD K II, no. 277, pp. 383–84
Heeslingen, Stade	11.12.1038 Nierstein	DD K II, no. 278, pp. 384–85
Modena	16.03.1038 —	DD K II, no. 292, pp. 414–15
Henry III:		
Verden	22.06.1039 Andernach	DD H III, no. 1, pp. 1–2
Hesslingen, Stade	13.05.1040 —	DD H III, no. 42, pp. 52–3
Asti	26.01.1041 Aachen	DD H III, no. 70, pp. 90–5
Essen	13.06.1041 Essen	DD H III, no. 82, p. 107.
Kaufungen	11.08.1041 Walldorf	DD H III, no. 85, pp. 110–11
Ascoli	12.06.1045 Cologne	DD H III, no. 139, pp. 174–75
Eisleben	26.09.1045 Bôtvelde	DD H III, no. 147, pp. 185–86.
Seligenstadt	25.11.1045 Spira	DD H III, no. 148, pp. 187–88
Hengersberg	19.02.1049 Bamberg	DD H III, no. 232, pp. 308–9
Uhrsleben	19.03.1051 Spira	DD H III, no. 267, pp. 355–56
Brogne	30.04.1051 Kaiserswerth	DD H III, no. 268, pp. 356–57

TABLE A.3 List of market privileges for the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, market place	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Pfingsten, Metten	16.08.1051 Pasau	DD H III, no. 275, p. 376
Eichstätt	06.06.1053 Goslar	DD H III, no. 306, pp. 415–16.
Wienhausen	15.10.1054 Goslar	DD H III, no. 326, pp. 446–47
Vercelli	17.11.1054 Mainz	DD H III, no. 327, pp. 447–49
Vercelli	17.11.1054 Mainz	DD H III, no. 328, pp. 449–50
Ascoli	27.05.1055 Florence	DD H III, no. 341, pp. 465–67
Wasserbillig	15.09.1056 Bodfeld	DD H III, no. 378, pp. 519–20
Piacenza	15.10.1048 Pavia-Bodfeld	DD H III, no. 394, pp. 547–50
Henry IV:		
Prüm	05.12.1056 Cologne	DD H IV, 1, no. 1, pp. 1–2
Osnabrück	26.05.1057 Corvey	DD H IV, 1, no. 20, pp. 24–5
Hersbruck	17.08.1057 Trebur	DD H IV, 1, no. 26, pp. 31–3
Verden	22.08.1059 Goslar	DD H IV, 1, no. 57, pp. 73–5
Villach	08.02.1060 Bamberg	DD H IV, 1, no. 62, pp. 81–2
Wels	18.02.1061 Regensburg	DD H IV, 1, no. 70, pp. 90–2
Fürth	19.07.1062 Mainz	DD H IV, 1, no. 89, pp. 115–17
Sulza	05.12.1064 Goslar	DD H IV, 1, no. 139, pp. 181–82.
Lorsch	05.04.1065 Mainz	DD H IV, 1, no. 145, pp. 188–89

TABLE A.3 List of market privileges for the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, market place	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Wiesloch	— 1067 Wiehe	DD H IV, 1, no. 191, p. 248
Siegburg	08.09.1069 Frankfurt	DD H IV, 1, no. 223, pp. 282–83
Dinant	25.06.1070 Aachen	DD H IV, 1, no. 234, pp. 294–96
Siegburg	04.10.1071 Merseburg	DD H IV, 1, no. 244, pp. 308–10.
St. Sepolcro	1082 Rome	DD H IV, 2, no. 342, pp. 451–53
Vicenza	18.06.1084 Verona	DD H IV, 2, no. 366, pp. 488–89
Theres	21.08.1097 Würzburg	DD H IV, 2, no. 456, pp. 615–16
Lothar III:		
Verdun	— —	DD Lo III, no. 8, p. 10
Bamberg	05.04.1130 Bamberg	DD Lo III, no. 25, pp. 38–39
Neunkirchen	14.05.1136 Merseburg	DD Lo III, no. 83, pp. 128–129
Ascoli	18.08.1137 Salerno	DD Lo III, no. 118, pp. 188–90
Konrad III and Henry VI Berengar:		
Lognes	11.04.1138 Cologne	DD K III, no. 5, pp. 8–11
Selz	10.06.1143 Strasbourg	DD K III, no. 90, pp. 160–161
Reinhausen	16.10.1144 Hersfeld	DD K III, no. 115, pp. 204–7
Helmarshausen	17.10.1144 Hersfeld	DD K III, no. 117, pp. 208–10
St. Lambrecht	21.05.1149 Salzburg	DD K III, no. 201, pp. 363–65

TABLE A.3 List of market privileges for the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, market place	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Ascoli	14.03.1150 Nuremberg	DD K 111, no. 226, pp. 399–402
Frederick I:		
Scozula	30.06.1152 Ulm	DD F I, 1, no. 19, pp. 33–4
Gembloux	28.12.1152 Trier	DD F I, 1, no. 40, pp. 69–71
Altdorf	30.01.1153 Colmar	DD F I, 1, no. 46, pp. 76–7
Novara	03.01.1155 Casale Monferrato	DD F I, 1, no. 96, pp. 162–63
Pistoia	02.06.1155 San Quirico	DD F I, 1, no. 109, pp. 184–86
Bergamo (Lemne)	17.06.1156 Würzburg	DD F I, 1, no. 141, pp. 236–38
Valencia	23.11.1157 Besançon	DD F I, 1, no. 196, pp. 328–29
Bremen	22.04.1158 Kaiserswerth	DD F I, 1, no. 213, pp. 355–57
Vicenza	— 1158 —	DD F I, 2, no. 230, pp. 17–9
Sarzana	04.11.1163 Lodi	DD F I, 2, no. 405, pp. 283–84
Frassinorio	04.06 (06.06?)1164 St. Salvatore	DD F I, 2, no. 453, pp. 354–55
Locarno	09.10.1164 Disentis	DD F I, 2, no. 469, pp. 380–81
Bamberg	1165 (May–June) Würzburg	DD F I, 2, no. 478, pp. 392–93
Köflach	03.03.1170 Friesach	DD F I, 3, no. 562, pp. 28–30
Siegburg	09.05. 1174 Sinzig	DD F I, 3, no. 618, pp. 109–11
Como	21.05.1175 Pavia	DD F I, 3, no. 640, pp. 140–41

TABLE A.3 List of market privileges for the Post-Carolingian Europe (10th–12th century) (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, market place	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Noceto, Medesiano, Aureliano	17.08.1177 Venice	DD F I, 3, no. 697, pp. 224–26
Lengstein	28.08.1177 Venice	DD F I, 3, no. 702, p. 233
Monte San Vito	24.11.1177 San Vitale	DD F I, 3, no. 716, pp. 250–52
Bergamo	25.06.1183 Constance	DD F I, 4, no. 849, pp. 77–79
Cambrai	20.06. 1184 Gelnhausen	DD F I, 4, no. 858, p. 92
Luni	29.06.1185 San Miniato	DD F I, 4, no. 911, pp. 171–73
Ascoli	18.09.1185 Coccorano	DD F I, 4, no. 917, pp. 181–83
Casale Moferrato	05.03.1186 Novara	DD F I, 4, no. 935, pp. 202–3
Eschwege	1188 (June) —	DD F I, 4, no. 973, pp. 253–54.
Wels	22.02.1162 Lodi	DD F I, 4, no. 1048, pp. 361–62

TABLE A.4 Trade privileges in the Balkans

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
The Great Župan Stefan Nemanja guarantees Dubrovnik the freedom to trade	27.09.1186	Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника, књ. I

TABLE A.4 Trade privileges in the Balkans (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Ban Kulin guarantees Dubrovnik the freedom to trade	29.08.1189	Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника, књ. 1
The Great Župan Stefan Nemanja guarantees Split the freedom to trade	1190–1194	Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника, књ. 1, р. 64
The Great Župan Nemanjić guarantees Dubrovnik the freedom to trade	1214–1217	Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника, књ. 1
Tsar Ivan Asen guarantees Dubrovnik the freedom to trade	after 1230	Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника, књ. 1, р. 124
King Stefan Radoslav confirmed the privileges of Dubrovnik, including freedom of trade	04.02. 1234	Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника, књ. 1, р. 130
Knyaz Andreja guarantees Dubrovnik the freedom to trade	1214–1235	Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника, књ. 1, р. 132
Ban Matej Ninoslav guarantees Dubrovnik the freedom to trade	1232–1235	Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника, књ. 1, р. 140
Ban Matej Ninoslav guarantees Dubrovnik the freedom to trade	1235–1236	Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника, књ. 1, р. 142.

TABLE A.4 Trade privileges in the Balkans (*cont.*)

The issuer of the document, custom duty type	Date and place of issue of the document	Primary source
Ban Matej Ninoslav guarantees Dubrovnik the freedom to trade	22.03.1240	Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника, књ. 1, р. 154
King Stefan Uroš I guarantees Dubrovnik the freedom to trade	14.08.1243	Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника, књ. 1, р. 174

Conclusions

The present book describes, in synthesising categories, a group of concepts defining the way of perception of economic phenomena occurring in Central Europe, Scandinavia, and the Balkans. Among the theoretical issues, attention was drawn to the theory of the world system (and modifications of Immanuel Wallerstein's ideas—including the *ancient worlds theory*), polemics between the substantivists and formalists, and the current of model research referring to the importance of central places, and relations between the center, and semiperipheral, and peripheral areas. The latter were perceived through the prism of the influence of the Western Empire, Byzantium, and the Muslim world on the so-called *barbaricum*. Attention was also drawn to the aspect of the functioning of early medieval empires, perceived from the point of view of the function of a generative center (post-Carolingian, and Byzantine-Oriental worlds), expansive in ideological-political, and economic dimensions to external areas. The phenomena mentioned above emanated from the gradual expansion of the range of economic penetration conducted by merchants, caused by the increase in internal demand of goods and services within central places. Interestingly, it was peripheral, and semiperipheral areas, focusing, and processing (although with varying intensity) parallel, and mutual influences of world systems—that multiplied, and recreated certain patterns of economic behaviour. On the one hand, this led (albeit at different times) to the creation of an economic system expressing the value of transactions in weighed silver, and then in bullion money, and on the other—along with the occurrence of recessionary phenomena—was one of the factors in the reorientation of trade, as well as the end of the 'silver rush' of the Viking era.

The characteristic elements of this system were the mutations and *sui generis* bipolarity of the perception of exchange—defined both in non-economic categories, characterizing the way of thinking of *homo symbolicus*, and in economic categories, representing ideas attributed to *homo oeconomicus*. The changing nature of attribution, and relativism of perception of certain behaviours reduced the significance of the alien—self antonymy—when the merchants from different cultural circles met, creating a mutual conviction of their purposefulness, and 'profitability.' An example is the custom of fragmenting silver intended for Slavic merchants (described by Al-Gardizi) for whom a measure of wealth, and equivalent of a transaction, the volume of the pot itself, and the 'optical' amount of bullion remained—not the use of a specific weight system or the nominal value of numisma. The change of form, and symbolic

destruction of 'foreign' objects in the symbolic layer allowed them to gain a new attribution, and specific categories of value. So, on the one hand, it was also a form of protection against 'alien' magic. On the other hand, for a Muslim merchant who used the nominal value of numisma, it was an opportunity not only to 'obtain cheaply' goods sought after in the Arab world—but also to use coins bearing an outdated mint mark (in both cases, the coins without nominal value represented only the value of the bullion itself), or foreign numisma—thus his profit increased significantly. The sale of beads made of green glass—corresponding to the equivalent of one dirhema in Rus'—can be seen in a similar way. Ibn Fadlan considered this price to be 'definitely excessive.'

The significance of the dichotomy of economic behaviour is also evidenced by the practice of trade conducted by Rus', as described by Ibn Fadlan. By erecting wooden piles (which Ibn Fadlan, as an expert in religious law, described in a somewhat scornful way as *hasab*—meaning an ordinary piece of wood) which were supposed to identify deities before whom a Rus' merchant made his offerings (according to the *do ut des* principle) to initiate trade and to sacralize the space connected with it, in his opinion he gained the power to take control of the will of an Arab merchant who would buy goods from him at the price he, the Rus' merchant, wanted.

The functioning of interregional trade in the 10th–12th centuries consisted therefore mainly in the contact of people with different economic awareness, different way of defining value and wealth. A characteristic feature of customs connected with rituals initiating trade, additionally emphasized by the sacralization of space, was thus the variable attribution of numismatic symbols dependent on their current possessor. Examples of such phenomena include the importance of substitute money, which appears probably in periods of bullion shortages, and the coexistence of various forms of 'silent barter.'

It is worth noting that the political, and economic influence of empires not only conditioned the character of relations connecting the central places with the areas of the *barbaricum*, broadly understood, but also indirectly determined the periods of stabilization/destabilization of power in that area. Its maintenance depended on the circulation of goods, and the desire of the current power networks (perceived as a kind of commercial and military consortia) to remain within the influence of the world system of large empires. The consequence of those processes and developments was the organization of groups of people directly benefiting from trade, military expeditions, and effective enforcement of the created system of taxes and tributes within the communication and trade routes. At the same time, in the economic sphere, this phenomenon was a dynamic process, characterized by economic fluctuations

and a significant sensitivity of the current exchange network to imbalances in the flow of goods.

It is likely that the response to the recession has been not only the expeditions of Rus' to Byzantium, Boris' and Simeon's trade wars, as a result of an attempt to transfer the axis of trade with the Bulgarians from Constantinople to Thessaloniki, but also a series of military campaigns led by Bolesław the Brave. He strived, among other things, to take over such long-distance exchange centers as Prague or Kiev (after the conquest of Kiev he sent his envoys to Constantinople).

Trade between the 10th and 12th centuries not only provided certain categories of goods, and production surpluses, but also conditioned the maintenance of the policy of gift and redistribution of goods. In doing so, it succeeded in guaranteeing the relative stability of the political power of young statehoods, transforming them from segmental and chiefdom-based systems into centers of dynastic power, and patrimonial monarchy. It is worth mentioning that on the economic grounds their influence—observed mainly at the level of silver ore exports to the Barbaricum areas—remained in many cases only partially dependent on the geographical distance. The interpenetration of these systems, with silver remaining in circulation for a relatively long time at the same time, led to world systems interacting with areas without a coin of their own. Paradoxically, therefore, the different attribution of numismatic symbols depending on the holder, and the contacts of people representing different economic consciousness were the stimulators of trade. It seems that this may be evidenced by the relatively long period of coexistence of oriental ore, and Western European emissions in the morphology of early-medieval bullion deposits. At the same time, it can also be noted that the processes were universal in nature. This aspect was probably connected with the communal character of early-medieval trade, which in social terms combined a group of behaviours characteristic for the magical valorisation of space and a group of magical-symbolic and religious behaviours with obtaining licensed income (sanctioned by fair and equitable, and thus customary, law) from emerging trade monopolies. Interestingly, probably without the socio-cultural differences between the participants of the exchange (which is a kind of 'merchants' relay') it would be difficult to talk about the phenomenon of long-distance trade on such a large scale during the 9th–12th century.

It should be noted that, at the outset, trade was mainly transient in nature. This process depended on the relatively low number of customers for the products available on the market. It seems that this situation began to change diametrically when the Otto dynasty ascended the throne. It is at this very time that the greatest increase in the number of trade monopolies licensed,

sanctioned by the issue of imperial documents, can be observed. Based on the increase in the number of privileges issued (sanctioning the creation of trade places), it can be estimated that between the 9th and 11th centuries the number of imperial fairs increased by one third. This process was probably connected with transformations leading over time to the creation of permanent merchant settlements. Striving to maintain income from various types of taxes and duties, as well as transforming the temporary formula of the traveling market into permanent trade settlements at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries may also indicate an increase in demand for goods offered by merchants. The sources of this development can certainly be found in the development of the monastic network, and the growing importance of commemorative practices. It seems that it was this process—with parallel emoluments of successive monastic communities generating also the demand for specific categories of goods—that was one of the stimulators of the economic growth observed at that time in the Empire area. At the same time, it can be assumed that the difference between supply and demand generated by central facilities also led to the expansion of trade penetration. In this way, the activity of traders seeking new sources of goods included further peripheral and semiperipheral areas in the spectre of trade of a unilateral nature of trade in goods. Such a phenomenon has also led over time to a change in the pattern of trade. This process is visible when we analyze the morphology of silver deposits. It seems that this phenomenon culminated in the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries in Central, Eastern, and Northern Europe, with the peak in economic prosperity around the year 1000. This phenomenon took place in phases, and was related to the nature of trade. It is worth noting that the violent political upheaval in the Arab world at that time probably led to a clear reduction in merchants' activity on the Lyon, Arles, Verdun, Mainz, and Regensburg routes—and the occurrence of recessionary phenomena. In peripheral and semiperipheral areas, this phenomenon was also accompanied by a political crisis of young statehoods. Contrary to the model approaches, which assume a kind of passivity of peripheries and semiperipheries, the disturbance of this structure—and the relations related to it—often led to further military interventions (in order to secure the policy of gift and to gain specific production surpluses necessary to maintain the fiscal and military apparatus) resulting in subsequent fluctuations of apparent business cycles.

Trade in the 10th and 12th centuries was inseparably connected with the group of elite and dynastic relations. As a result, it was conducted in the context of so-called political friendship. Contrary to the views expressed in the literature on the subject, its most important elements, however, were not luxury goods (the most characteristic in archaeological excavations) but goods of

a 'mass' nature. These include wheat, barley, rye, millet, honey, wax, salt, fur, textiles, and slaves. The analysis of the trade structure also merits attention here. It may indicate the existence of periodic imbalances between supply and demand. In this way, they also contributed to a temporary reduction in the price value of goods. Those disproportions were also related to the relatively small number of direct recipients of long-distance trade and to the functioning of the network of licensed trade fair monopolies. This network, in turn, supplied the areas of *barbaricum* with such categories of goods as bullion (mainly monetary silver), ornaments made of glass, and semi-precious stones, raw materials, and a number of semi-finished products. The development of limited quantitative export of luxury goods was also associated with the inclusion of new areas in the structures of the Christian world. In addition, the development of limited re-export of luxury goods to peripheral and semiperipheral areas is visible in the case of goods such as silk or swords. The latter, due to their importance, were very quickly covered by a number of prohibitions not allowing their distribution. It seems that the prohibitions have probably contributed to the development of trade in swords by Scandinavian merchants. In oriental sources they are present not only as the main suppliers of high quality Western European sword heads, but also as intermediaries in trade with the Arab world.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the problem of distribution of bullion and the economic significance of dynastic relations. The economic fluctuations observed on the basis of the analysis of the source material of the economic fluctuations, bearing the hallmarks of economic cycles, can be seen through the prism of Schumpeter-Kondratiev's theory. A characteristic feature of this concept was the distinction of long-term cycles, ranging from forty-five to sixty years. The period of economic growth was preceded by social changes occurring about twenty years prior, namely the expansion of the area of economic penetration, and changes taking place in the scale of ore extraction and money circulation. In theoretical terms, the transformations taking place also referred to developments associated with the three-phase scheme of the numisma propagation. Thus, the variable direction of the flow of goods (including coins) also determined the expansion area of the early medieval 'networks of power systems.' In this way, in the context of building dynastic relations, which condition the flow of goods in various ways, economic interests connecting the rulers of Poland, Rus', and Hungary (Árpád Dynasty) within the Danube route can also be seen. Probably the impact of this trade route was also one of the reasons for the occurrence of a group of analogous phenomena in the Balkan Peninsula. However, the end of the great trade of the Viking era was not only connected with the process of forming dynastic power in terms of a patrimonial

monarchy and a group of socio-cultural transformations leading to a change in the nature of trade. Another important reason for the occurrence of the aforementioned recessionary phenomena occurring after the fall of Córdoba (1031), and the disruption of the trade route, related to the economic activity of Radan merchants, was also a decrease in external demand. Interestingly, the gradual shrinkage of captive reservoirs (pagan *captivi*), the rapid crisis of Jewish communities in the Western Empire, and the transformations associated with the First Crusade (1095–1099) probably completely changed the socioeconomic reality of the time. It was also a source of reorientation of the direction of the trade itself. As a result, the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th centuries not only became an era of searching for new trade routes, it also became an era which completely changed the structure of trade, concentrating in the recession period mainly locally, within the designated trade fair monopolies. Due to the ongoing transformations, it was connected with the constitution of permanent merchant settlements. At the same time, it seems that along with the increase in the number of fairs and exhibitions, this development has also led to the establishment of a changed structure and way of conducting exchanges. Only the reopening of long-distance exchange routes in the era of successive Crusades and the associated movement of people and goods sought after on the European markets was to begin a period of renewed prosperity, and the European ‘gold rush.’

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